Between Two Motherlands

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THEODORA DRAGOSTINOVA

Between Two Motherlands

Nationality and Emigration among the Greeks of Bulgaria, 1900–1949

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Contents

List of Maps and Figures *vii*
Acknowledgments *ix*
List of Abbreviations *xiii*
Note on Terminology and Chronology *xv*

Introduction *1*
1. The Mixing and Unmixing of Bulgarians and Greeks *17*
2. Between the Bulgarian State and the Greek Nation, 1900–1911 *35*
3. Nationality and Shifting Borders, 1912–1918 *77*
4. An Exercise in Population Management, 1919–1925 *117*
5. Everyday Life after Emigration, 1925–1931 *157*
6. People on the Margins, 1931–1941 *193*
7. Narratives and Memories of the Past *217*
Epilogue *249*

Selected Bibliography *269*
Index *281*

Maps and Figures

MAPS

1. Bulgaria, Greece, and the Ottoman Empire, 1878–1912 *xvii*
2. Border changes in Bulgaria, Greece, Serbia, and the Ottoman Empire, 1912–1923 *xviii*
3. Bulgaria and Greece, 1923–1947 *xix*

FIGURES

1. Bulgarians mocking the Greek bishop of Varna, 3 July 1906 *42*
2. The burned Anhialo/Anchialos after the fire of 30 July 1906 *45*
3. Clothing distribution to Greek refugees from Bulgaria residing in Athens after 1906 *52*
4. Greek refugees waiting to leave Xanthi in 1913 *97*
5. Greek refugees returning to Xanthi in 1918 *99*
6. The Greek inhabitants of Mesemvria preparing to leave for Greece in 1925 *152*
7. An airplane view of Anhialo/Anchialos showing the old town and the new refugee neighborhood built after World War I *174*
8. Young people in Sozopol/Sozoupolis dressed for carnival in the interwar years *176*

Acknowledgments

This book, I now realize, has been the product of my own life between two motherlands. A native of Bulgaria, in 1992 I found myself studying history and archaeology in Greece. This experience informed my personal transition from the intensely optimistic early years of post-socialism to the unsettling realization that change after communism would be slow and ambiguous. I still remembered the disturbing images of the Turks in Bulgaria forcefully fleeing the country in early 1989 because of pressures from the communist regime, and I could not comprehend why in 1990, after the fall of communism, noisy demonstrations would call for the continued restriction of their religious and cultural traditions. When the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia declared independence in 1991, the Bulgarian government was the first one to recognize this political act, but politicians and ordinary Bulgarians alike adhered to paternalistic ideas of how the relationship between the two neighbors should develop. In Greece the government denied the right of the new country to call itself Macedonia, and national leaders organized huge rallies claiming exclusive Greek ownership of the legacy of ancient Macedonia and Alexander the Great. Meanwhile, the conflict between the constituent republics of Yugoslavia escalated by the week, leading to wars in Croatia and Bosnia that overshadowed the previously optimistic international broadcasts from the region. Nationalism seemed to have engulfed the Balkans for good. To further complicate my personal dilemma of how to handle being a Bulgarian in Greece, I had to swallow the fact that, in many of my classes, important events of Bulgarian history were interpreted differently and often negatively. As my universe of national heroes was being shattered and the world around me was falling apart, nothing seemed to be left from the blissful calm of my childhood spent in the oblivion of late socialism.

The company of my smart, sensitive, and witty friends, and the guidance of my generous and broad-minded professors, muted the noisy rhetoric of everyday nationalists. Faced with the debunking of my myths, I gained an understanding of the experiences of people living outside a dominant culture. As part of the "generation of democracy," the high school students graduating immediately after 1989, many of my friends left Bulgaria for various countries across the world, and I constantly heard stories of personal triumph, family sacrifice, disappointment, accommodation, and perseverance. At the same time Greece was full of illegal Bulgarian labor migrants, and, on the long bus rides home during my breaks, I listened to their stories of risky border crossings, long hours of hard work, tense encounters with authorities, misunderstandings with employers, and the lingering desire to see their families and simply "go home." In addition to heartbreaking personal tragedies, there were also accounts of successful adaptation, financial gain, and the resourceful handling of difficult circumstances. Every so often I heard about a distant "Greek grandmother," inevitably inferring that the person was actually Greek, even if the locals did not recognize it. Back in Bulgaria I paid attention to the situation of other "others"; Turks, Bulgarian Muslims, Roma, and foreigners from all corners of the world all offered moving insights on being treated as "strangers within." Ultimately I decided to pursue my graduate studies in the United States. But when I first arrived in the country in 1998, the escalating conflict in Kosovo had again turned attention to the Balkans and generated much discussion about the "burdens of history" in the area. I was determined to find a topic that not only would explain the nationalistic outburst of hatred in the area but one that would also refute the clichés of "primordial animosities" circulating around me. And when I returned to Bulgaria and Greece, searching for this topic in archives and libraries, I came across a small minority group, the Greeks of Bulgaria; forgotten, neglected, irrelevant for the history of the two countries but happily adaptive, wittily resourceful, and consciously "in between" cultures and traditions, they seemed to provide answers to the questions that most concerned me.

Inevitably my personal experiences and scholarly pursuits have led me to redefine where my own loyalties lay. Almost twenty years after I first arrived in Greece and twelve years after I came to the United States, I am still seeking answers. On the one hand, I constantly remind myself that I am Bulgarian. On the other, I know that my nationality is seldom relevant for my choices. Yet, if I am to relinquish my Bulgarianness, I would feel immensely stripped of an intimate part of who I am. I am ardently anti-nationalist and sometimes have found that I am nationally oblivious, but I continue to be intensely nationally aware. I am happy to navigate two countries and two cultures, but I am yet to find a closure for my dilemma of what the reality of being in-between makes me. All these questions, as experienced by people of a different generation, are also tackled in this book.

This book would not have been possible without the assistance of numerous people. Olga Katsiardi-Hering at the University of Athens first saw the historian in me, and I am grateful for her intellectual guidance, personal generosity, and unwavering support when I decided to go to graduate school. Two other people in Athens, Aleka Boutzouvi-Bania and Kostas Gaganakis, urged me to think beyond the obvious questions and encouraged my pursuits as a historian. At the University of Florida I benefited from my contacts with a number of inspiring scholars including Fred Corney, Alice Freifeld, Fred Gregory, Sheryl Kroen, and Sylvana Patriarca. Thomas Gallant has since remained a supportive and generous mentor. I received wholehearted support from Chip Burkhardt, Peter Fritzsche, Keith Hitchins, and Harry Liebersohn when I continued my studies at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. At The Ohio State University I have been fortunate to join an outstanding and enriching intellectual community. I particularly wish to thank David Hoffmann and Nick Breyfogle for their warm acceptance, unconditional support, and wonderful friendship. I am grateful for my conversations with Alice Conklin, Lilia Fernandez, Carole Fink, Yana Hashamova, Robin Judd, Tina Sessa, and Jennifer Siegel, who each read parts of this book and helped me focus my thoughts and strengthen my arguments.

During all these years I have been privileged to have a mentor in Maria Todorova. She made me believe, passionately, that the Balkans are more than just a place, and with her intellectual rigor, inspirational wit, unobtrusive guidance, and immense knowledge in all things eastern European I am now a better historian and person. I am thankful for her mentorship and friendship.

During my research in Bulgaria and Greece I benefited from the invaluable assistance of numerous librarians and archivists in Sofia, Plovdiv, Burgas, Varna, Athens, Salonica, and Kavalla, and from conversations with people with local knowledge in Sozopol, Pomorie, Nesebâr, Biala, Salonica, and Gephira. I extend special thanks to Giorgos Antoniou, Lia Choleva, Xanthippi Kotzageorgi, Iva Kyurtchieva, Mila Mancheva, Nikos Marantzidis, Iakovos Michailidis, Vania Stoyanova, Despoina Syrri, and Varban Todorov, who generously shared their knowledge of archival collections, local resources, and inspiring scholarship. The input of Gerasimos Augustinos and Onur Yildirim helped me improve important parts of the project. I appreciate the insightful comments of the two reviewers at Cornell University Press and the strong support of its director John Ackerman, whose commitment to eastern European scholarship was more than inspiring in these challenging times for academic publishing.

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fellowship from the Social Science Research Council facilitated my thirteen-month stay in Bulgaria and Greece; during this time I submerged myself in archives to discern the attitudes of officials and traveled to minority communities to learn about the motivations of ordinary people. I completed my dissertation with fellowships from the history department of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, the American Council of Learned Societies, and the Harry Frank Guggenheim Foundation. Grants from the American Historical Association and the International Research and Exchanges Board as well as research funding from The Ohio State University College of Arts and Humanities allowed me to travel to Bulgaria and Greece for additional research. A postdoctoral fellowship from the American Council of Learned Societies funded the completion of the manuscript. The College of Arts and Humanities, the Department of History, and the Center for Slavic and East European Studies at The Ohio State University generously provided financial assistance for the publication of the book. The American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies and the American Council of Learned Societies kindly allowed me to reprint materials that first appeared in *Slavic Review* (Spring 2008) and *East European Politics and Societies* (May 2009).

Last but not least, my family has provided me with unreserved support during the various stages of this project. My mother, Violeta Nikolova, traversed two continents to be with me whenever I needed her most, and I will be forever grateful for her generous help and selfless dedication to her family. My husband, Bud Barnes, has been my most ardent supporter and my toughest critic; he has read every page of this book, and his insightful comments have forced me to think beyond academia to consider the broader implications of my research. The completion of this book has been framed by the arrival of my two sons. I completed the last chapter of my dissertation shortly before the birth of Alexander, and I finished the main body of the book weeks before Daniel was born. Their arrival has given me a new perspective on being between two motherlands, my native Bulgaria and my adoptive United States. It is my hope that they will continue my search for how to navigate countries, cultures, traditions, and identities.

Abbreviations

AEDD	Archeion Eidikou Dikastiriou Dosilogon
AHR	*American Historical Review*
AMVnR	Arhiv na Ministerstvoto na vânshnite raboti
AMVR	Arhiv na Ministerstvoto na vâtreshnite raboti
APhD	Archive of Philippos Dragoumis
ASD	Archive of Stephanos Dragoumis
ATLGT	*Archeion Thrakikou laographikou kai glossikou thisavrou*
BGKO	Bâlgarsko generalno konsulstvo v Odrin
BGKS	Bâlgarsko generalno konsulstvo v Solun
BLA	Bâlgarska legatsiia v Atina
BLI	Bâlgarska legatsiia v Istanbul
Bulg. rep.	Bulgarian representative in the Mixed Commission
DA—Burgas	Dârzhaven arhiv—Burgas
DA—Plovdiv	Dârzhaven arhiv—Plovdiv
DA—Varna	Dârzhaven arhiv—Varna
DP	Direktsiia na politsiiata
EEPS	*East European Politics and Societies*
EPP	Elliniko Proxeneio Pirgou
EPPh	Elliniko Proxeneio Philippoupoleos
EPS	Elliniki Presveia Sofias
EPV	Elliniko Proxeneio Varnas
ESA	Elliniki Stratiotiki Apostoli
GAK	Genika Archeia tou Kratous
GAK—ANK	Genika Archeia tou Kratous—Archeia Nomou Kavalas
GDM	Geniki Dioikisi Makedonias
GDTh	Geniki Dioikisi Thrakis

GLA	Gennadius Library Archive
Gr. rep.	Greek representative in the Mixed Commission
IAATE	Istoriko Archeio Agrotikis Trapezas Ellados
IAIE	Istoriko Archeio Ipourgeiou Exoterikon
IAM	Istoriko Archeio Makedonias
IAMB	Istoriko Archeio Mouseiou Benaki
IAPE	Istoriko Archeio Prosphigikou Ellinismou
IE	Ipourgeion Exoterikon
JMGS	*Journal of Modern Greek Studies*
JMH	*Journal of Modern History*
MC	Mixed Commission on Greek-Bulgarian Emigration
MP	Ministerstvo na pravosâdieto
MV	Ministerstvo na voïnata
MVRI	Ministerstvo na vânshnite raboti i izpovedaniiata
MVRNZ	Ministerstvo na vâtreshnite raboti i narodnoto zdrave
PMK	Parizhka mirna konferentsiia
SR	*Slavic Review*
TsDA	Tsentralen dârzhaven arhiv
TsPA	Tsentralen partien arhiv

Note on Terminology and Chronology

Similar to other eastern European cases, many localities discussed in this book had multiple names in different languages: Bulgarian, Greek, and/or Turkish. If a locality has a common English-language rendition, I use that name (Istanbul, Salonica, Edirne, and Smyrna, for example). Otherwise I provide both the Bulgarian and Greek names and add the current name in parenthesis at first mention in each chapter. In some cases a locality had only a Turkish name until it acquired a Bulgarian or a Greek name in the interwar period.

The Greek population in Bulgaria called itself Thracians (*Thrakes*), Romelians (*Romeliotes*), Christians (*Romaoi*), and Hellenes (*Ellines*), and their Bulgarian neighbors called them Greeks (*gârtsi*), Patriarchists (*patriarshisti*), foreigners (*inorodtsi*) and, derogatorily, Hellenes (*elini*) or Byzantines (*vizantiĭtsi*). In my attempt not to privilege the Greek or Bulgarian opinion and to avoid confusion, I use the terms "Greeks in/from Bulgaria" and "Bulgarian Greeks." I also use the Bulgarian term "grâkomani" to refer to the Bulgarian-speaking population that leaned toward the Greek national idea.

My preference for "Greeks" over "Hellenes" originates in the English-language version of the word. In the Greek language, the word Hellenes (*Ellines*) describes both the ancient and the modern Greeks, whereas Hellas (*Ellada*) refers both to ancient Hellas and contemporary Greece, emphasizing their historical continuity. In Bulgarian, like in English, there is a difference between the contemporary Greeks (*gârtsi*) and the ancient Greeks, or Hellenes (*elini*), as well as between modern Greece (*Gârtsiia*) and Hellas (*Elada*). When referring to the process of nationalization, I use the term "Bulgarization" to describe Bulgarian policies, a term that exists in both languages (*pobâlgariavane* in Bulgarian, *ekvoulgarismos* in Greek). However,

depending on the source, I use the terms "Grecization" (*pogârchvane*) or "Hellenization" (*exellinismos*) to refer to Greek policies, which are the terms used by Bulgarian and Greek national activists. In Bulgarian the term "Hellenization" (*elinizirane*) is used exclusively in scholarly texts referring to ancient Greece (*Elada*).

Bulgaria and Greece switched from the old (Julian) to the new (Gregorian) calendar in 1916 and 1923, respectively. The Julian calendar was twelve days behind the currently used Gregorian calendar until 1900, and thirteen days behind it after that date. Even after the official change, however, some documents, especially those written by religious authorities, continued to use the old Julian calendar, or used the old and new dates in conjunction. In all notes I cite the date that is used in the original document; if both dates are used, I provide the Julian date first and then the Gregorian.

I am using a modified version of the Library of Congress transliteration system for Bulgarian and Greek. In Bulgarian I use "â" instead of "û" and "h" instead of "kh," and in Greek I use "i" for all three "i," "y," and "ē" and "o" for both "o" and "ō."

Map 1. *Bulgaria, Greece, and the Ottoman Empire, 1878–1912. The map shows the main Greek communities in Bulgaria at the beginning of the twentieth century and the refugee settlement sites in Greece after 1906.*

Rapport des members nommés par le Conseil de la Société des Nations *(Lausanne: Imp. Réunies, 1932), 12.*

Map 3. *Bulgaria and Greece, 1923–1947.*

Introduction

Writing in 1932, the international law expert Stephen Ladas recounted the story of Todor Nikolov from Haskovo in Bulgaria as an example of the difficulties in determining who was a member of a national minority in Bulgaria and Greece. The Bulgarian citizen declared, in the early 1920s, that he wanted to emigrate and settle in Greece because he had a "Greek consciousness." Bulgarian officials, however, disputed his claim and refused to certify his declaration, as "he was attached to the Bulgarian nationality by both blood and language." Greek officials defended their aspiring citizen, maintaining that "he had celebrated his marriage to a Greek woman and had christened his children in the Greek church, and that in view of the fact that religion is confused with national consciousness by Greeks and Bulgarians, this was the best proof that Nikolov had ceased to have a 'Bulgarian consciousness' and belonged to the Greek minority." In the end the experts in charge of his case decided that "a doubt existed as to the religion of the applicant, of which he should have the benefit," and approved Nikolov's relocation to Greece.[1]

Nikolov was not an isolated case. In the early twentieth century Bulgarians continued to use the nineteenth-century category of *grâkomani* (literally, a person afflicted by "Greek-mania") to distinguish between the "pure" Greeks and those Bulgarians who, "with their extreme awe for the culture of Hellenism, adopted, together with the Greek language, the Greek spirit as well."[2] National activists considered these Greek loyalists to possess a

1. Stephen Ladas, *The Exchange of Minorities: Bulgaria, Greece and Turkey* (New York, 1932), 78. The original spelling of the name is Thodor Nicoloff, but I use the Bulgarian version for consistency.

2. Liubomir Miletich, "V polurazrusheniia Melnik (Pâtni belezhki ot 1914 godina)," *Makedonski pregled* 1 (1924): 87.

false consciousness, cultivated by external propaganda, and they sought to "correct" the behavior of such renegades and help them "rediscover" their "true" Bulgarian origins. At the same time there were other individuals who, despite being Greek "by blood and language," manifested a "Bulgarian consciousness." In 1906 Dimo Georgev from Iambol published a newspaper advertisement that stated: "Even if a Greek by nationality, I declare that I consider the Bulgarian lands to be my fatherland." He further explained that he recognized the Bulgarian Church, had fulfilled his military service in the Bulgarian Army, and had christened and educated his four children in Bulgarian institutions.[3] The difficulty of distinguishing between the two national communities is also exemplified in the story of two brothers from Kavakli in Bulgaria. In the interwar years the sibling with the Bulgarian name, Peĭo, relocated to Greece as a "pure" Greek, and the one with the Greek name, Socrates, stayed in Bulgaria as a "pure" Bulgarian.[4]

These examples demonstrate the ambiguity of nationhood that manifested itself across an important national battle line in the Balkans. Given the confusion over how to distinguish a Bulgarian from a Greek, it seemed impossible to provide stable criteria of nationality or to mark individuals as members of a minority. In the first fifty years of the twentieth century the residents of Bulgaria and Greece confronted the reality of unstable nationality as their respective states strove to acquire new lands or to homogenize the populations of territories that they had either carved out from the Ottoman Empire or detached from each other. Discussing definitions of minorities, Ladas admitted: "Although, theoretically, . . . objective criteria seem preferable to the subjective criterion . . . , namely the national consciousness and aspiration of each person, they were extremely difficult of application . . . [because] in both Greece and Bulgaria the tests of race and language were of small help in this respect."[5] His contemporary, C. A. Macartney, the renowned expert on minorities in interwar Europe, concurred that in the Balkans, "no clear delimitation of the national boundaries was possible; worse still, even national feeling was hopelessly capricious . . . so that it was never certain whether any given individual would classify himself by his religion, his language, his local habitation, or his traditional customs."[6] Throughout the twentieth century Bulgaria and Greece were inhabited by "individuals with fluid consciousness [*revstosiniditoi*]" whose national feelings were "wavering and indefinable [*koleblivi i neopredelimi*]."[7] In the context of the conflicting national agendas and the competing territorial aspirations of the two countries, officials and ordinary people, seeking to harmonize the relationship between states and citizens, tackled fundamental

3. *Den*, 2 August 1906.
4. K. Mirtilos Apostolidis, *Voulgaroi i Ellines isan oi Kariotai?* (Athens, 1940), 43.
5. Ladas, *The Exchange of Minorities*, 77.
6. C. A. Macartney, *National States and National Minorities* (London, 1934), 135.
7. GLA, APhD, 68.1.11. Confidential Memo of Samaras, 27 February 1945; and TsDA, f. 176k, op. 5, a.e. 1127, ll. 10–21. Embassy in Vienna to MVRI, 5 January 1931.

questions regarding the nature of nationality, citizenship, and community. While state bureaucrats strove to find a straightforward answer to a problematic question—"How do I recognize who is a Bulgarian and who is a Greek?"—ordinary people faced a different but equally pressing dilemma: "Do I want to become a Bulgarian or a Greek?"

In this book I explore how, during the final transition from empire to nation-states in the Balkans, states and people handled the issue of belonging to a (single) nation. Analyzing the attempts of Bulgarian and Greek bureaucrats and national activists to devise systematic policies targeting the Greeks of Bulgaria, I argue that officials constantly redefined their criteria of nationality and so reinforced people's unstable loyalties. By examining the shifting allegiances of Bulgaria's Greek inhabitants, I demonstrate that individuals had their own visions of group solidarity that often undermined the primacy of the nation as the main criterion of collective identity. By emphasizing the predicament of individuals torn between the Bulgarian state and the Greek nation, my goal is to illustrate how people in the Balkans coped with nationalization and displacement, and how, despite national tensions between states, individuals found alternative ways to escape the "tyranny of the national" in their everyday lives.[8]

The first fifty years of the twentieth century represent the apogee of nationalism in the Balkans. The national agendas of Bulgaria, Greece, Serbia, and Romania clashed as they attempted to split up the European provinces of the disintegrating Ottoman Empire. These tensions were obvious in the bloody violence engulfing early-twentieth-century Macedonia and Thrace. A decade later the Balkan Wars and World War I eliminated the Ottoman Empire as the main political power in the region. The continuous changes in the boundaries of the Balkan states and the resulting refugee flows strained relations between the countries in the interwar years, which were marked by recurring minority controversies and intensifying nationalization campaigns. World War II tore the area apart again: Bulgaria and Romania sided with the Axis and received new territories at their neighbors' expense, while Greece and Yugoslavia faced dismemberment and new waves of refugees. In the postwar period the communist takeover in Bulgaria in 1944 and the victory of the Right in the Greek civil war in 1949 split the region between opposed political alliances. The Cold War reinforced old national tensions and transformed them into new ideological doctrines that pulled the neighboring countries even further apart. In these multiple transitions from a multiethnic empire to nationally defined states to Cold War political disputes, Bulgaria and Greece were continuously on the opposite sides of major political and military crises, and these stark divisions shaped the relations between the two countries as well as the situation of people on the ground.

8. Gérard Noiriel, *La tyrannie du national: Le droit d'esile en Europe (1793–1993)* (Paris, 1991).

During this half-century the history of the Greek inhabitants of Bulgaria was indicative of how people in the Balkans navigated changing borders and shifting identities. In 1900 some one hundred thousand individuals, or approximately 2 percent of Bulgarian residents, could be described as having a Greek connection; these included persons who identified as "Greek by nationality" in censuses, others who indicated that Greek was their "mother tongue," and still others who followed the "Greek" religion. This was a diverse population, spanning urban cosmopolitan elites, modest but well-educated shopkeepers and fishermen, and impoverished, illiterate peasants. Entangled in the growing national tensions between Bulgaria and Greece, the choices these people made vividly illustrate the dilemma individuals faced over permanently identifying with a nation-state. In the early twentieth century the "Greek" residents of Bulgaria juggled diverse identities: proud heirs of the ancient Hellenic colonists and devoted residents of the Ottoman province of Rumeli; dedicated members of the wider Greek diasporic community and quiet admirers of their Bulgarian native land; devout followers of the Orthodox Patriarchate in Istanbul and reluctant supporters of the Greek government in Athens. The population swung between their Greek, Bulgarian, and local allegiances, periodically supporting the Kingdom of Greece but unwilling to abandon the Principality of Bulgaria. In time, however, trapped between the contradictory national priorities of Bulgaria and Greece, individuals were forced to take sides. The post–World War I period saw a split among the Greeks: some capitulated to national pressures and resettled in Greece under the provisions of a voluntary population exchange, and others remained a minority in Bulgaria and adapted to Bulgarian nationalization. Both groups continued to vacillate between the Bulgarian and Greek national priorities and inventively manipulated their nationality for personal reasons. Only when the Iron Curtain created a sharp ideological divide between Bulgaria and Greece were people no longer able to actively navigate their nationality.

By adopting this dynamic approach in the examination of nationhood, I seek to correct stereotypes concerning the Balkans that continue to influence attitudes to the region through a surreptitious discourse of balkanism that portrays the area as an alien body within Europe. Assuming that "the homogeneous European nation-state [was] the normative form of social organization," international experts have long interpreted ethnic diversity in the Balkans as the ultimate curse and natural explanation for the area's history.[9] Much western historiography has differentiated between the "civic" nationalism of the West and its "ethnic" variety in the East, emphasizing the "undemocratic," "exclusive," and "xenophobic" nature of nationalism

9. Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans* (New York, 1997), 13. According to Todorova, seen as the "alter ego" of Europe and "the dark side within," the Balkans "have served as a repository of negative characteristics against which a positive and self-congratulatory image of the 'European' and the 'West' have been constructed" (ibid., 188).

in the Balkans and producing various studies of forced migration, minority suppression, and ethnic cleansing in the area.[10] Such beliefs in the Balkan "aberration" became widespread in the early twentieth century when representatives of western governments rushed to solve the "minority problem" in eastern Europe, which they themselves had created with the arbitrary criteria of self-determination devised in the aftermath of the Great War.[11] According to international observers of the Bulgarian-Greek minorities in the interwar period, the Balkans constituted "ancient arenas of racial struggle" where "individual rights were never respected" and people stubbornly adhered to their "racial affinities."[12] Because of the "ferocious character of inter-ethnic conflict" and the "Balkan tradition of bloodshed," nation-building in the area exhibited anomalies such that "the Balkans . . . provided the purest types of the national states, acquisitive"; as a result, "the relations between minorities and majorities were even more uneasy than usual."[13] Such opinions created lasting stereotypes of "abnormal" internecine hostilities and "ferocious" inter-ethnic strife in the Balkans throughout the twentieth century, which were revived as easy explanations of conflict during the Yugoslav wars of the 1990s.

Challenging such assumptions, this book contributes to a body of literature that seeks to normalize Balkan history by questioning and fine-tuning the rhetoric of violent exceptionalism.[14] The experiences of the Bulgarian Greeks that I detail did not fit the classic template of tragic exodus and national martyrdom that are usually attributed to minorities in southeastern Europe. On the contrary, the history of a minority that only reluctantly abandoned its native land presented ambiguities that defy the view of the

10. Two authors committed to the ethnic-civic dichotomy are Hans Kohn, *The Idea of Nationalism. A Study in Its Origins and Background* (New York, 1956); and Peter Sugar, "The External and Domestic Roots of Eastern European Nationalism" in *Nationalism in Eastern Europe,* ed. Peter Sugar and Ivo Lederer (Seattle, 1994), 3–54. For a critique of the assumption that nationalism arrived in eastern Europe from the West, see Maria Todorova, "The Trap of Backwardness: Modernity, Temporality, and the Study of Eastern European Nationalism," *SR* 64 (2005): 140–164.

11. For this argument, see Eric Weitz, "From Vienna to the Paris System: International Politics and the Entangled Histories of Human Rights, Forced Deportations, and Civilizing Missions," *AHR* 113 (2008): 1313–1343; and Tara Zahra, "The 'Minority Problem' and National Classification in the French and Czechoslovak Borderlands," *Contemporary European History* 17 (2008): 137–165.

12. Mixed Commission on Greco-Bulgarian Emigration, *Memorandum on the Mission and Work of the Mixed Commission on Greco-Bulgarian Emigration* (1929), 7, 10, 25.

13. Macartney, *National States and National Minorities,* 135–136, 432. He compared the "acquisitive" Balkan national states to the "traditional" national state in Hungary, the "methodical" one in Germany, and the "mystic and inconsistent" one in Russia, concluding that the national question was most complicated in the Balkans.

14. Some recent works that present nuanced views of the Balkans include Mark Mazower, *Salonica, City of Ghosts: Muslims, Christians and Jews, 1430–1950* (New York, 2004); Paula Pickering, *Peacekeeping in the Balkans: A View from the Ground Floor* (Ithaca, 2007); Jelena Subotic, *Hijacked Justice: Dealing with the Past in the Balkans* (Ithaca, 2009); and Maria Todorova, *Bones of Contention: The Living Archive of Vasil Levski and the Making of Bulgaria's National Hero* (New York, 2009).

"Balkan powder keg."[15] By focusing on the multifaceted phenomenon of voluntary migration, instead of the traditional topics of ethnic cleansing and forced migration, I demonstrate the complexity of individuals' choices when facing the option, rather than the imperative, of relocation. I distinguish between migration movements that occurred in the aftermath of military conflicts and migration waves that developed in peacetime as a result of internal or international dynamics, emphasizing the diverse experiences of individuals facing national pressures. I undermine the assumption that, in the Balkans, there existed a special sort of grassroots, internecine violence that derived from primordial ethnic affinities, in contrast to the institutional, supposedly rational violence that functioned as an extension of state policy in the West. People in the Balkans were not embedded in primordial national identities, and their lives did not revolve around inter-ethnic hostilities. Balkan politicians did not simply manipulate docile populations or impose their nationalist agendas without remorse. Instead, and similarly to the rest of Europe, officials proposed various solutions to national controversies, people juggled multiple priorities when they decided to support or oppose the national cause, and, overall, diverse social groups engaged in continuous debates about how to define the meaning of the nation.

Adopting a comparative and transnational perspective on minorities and refugees in the Balkans, I tell the story of individuals swinging between two countries and two nations, the Bulgarian and the Greek. My goal is twofold: to explore how belonging to a particular self-professed or ascribed nationality influenced people's decision to emigrate and to ask how the experience of displacement shaped the national affiliations of the population. Throughout the book I juxtapose the official emphasis on national homogenization with ordinary people's responses to the demands of the nation-state. I do not underestimate the abilities of the increasingly forceful nation-states to impose visions of national uniformity and policies of national homogenization. Yet I contend that, even during the classic time of nationalism in the interwar period, certain niches existed at the level of everyday interaction that allowed individuals to preserve their multiple notions of community and belonging. Despite the tragic effects of war, national assimilation campaigns, and impelled migration, the dilemma between remaining a minority or becoming a refugee allowed for many intermediate choices of individuals accustomed to ethnic diversity and uneasy with straightforward national divisions. In this book the human predicament is dissected through a case study of a small

15. The Bulgarian Greeks were not the only reluctant resettlers. This trend is also obvious in the slow resettlement of the Muslim minorities in the Balkans, the Greeks in Turkey and especially Istanbul after the compulsory population exchange of 1923, as well as many Albanians and Vlachs scattered throughout the area. See Mary Neuburger, *The Orient Within: Muslim Minorities and the Negotiation of Nationhood in Modern Bulgaria* (Ithaca, 2004); Renée Hirschon, ed., *Crossing the Aegean: An Appraisal of the 1923 Compulsory Population Exchange between Greece and Turkey* (New York, 2003); Alexis Alexandris, *The Greek Minority of Istanbul and Greek-Turkish Relations, 1918–1974* (Athens, 1983); Elevtheria Manta, *Muslim Albanians in Greece: The Shams of Epirus* (Thessaloniki, 2008).

minority group ingeniously straddling national borders and identities in its attempts to cope with nationalization and displacement.

Three arguments converge in my examination of the Bulgarian Greeks. The intrinsic murkiness of national identifications in the post–Ottoman Balkans was characteristic of the transition from empire to nation-states and corresponded to similar manifestations of national ambiguity elsewhere in eastern Europe. However, in the Balkan context, displacement complicated people's collective belonging even further by vividly exposing the unstable relationship between nationality and territoriality. Despite these ambiguities, normative national narratives continuously tried to erase unwelcome versions of the past and to sanitize people's renditions of their conflicting experiences. The complex interplay of these three factors reveals that the processes of national homogenization in the Balkans shared with the rest of Europe many of the ways in which state actors and ordinary people interacted and negotiated their agendas. Bringing together visions of the nation in the East and West, and integrating political, social, and cultural approaches to nationhood and displacement, I explore the Greeks of Bulgaria within the framework of European minority politics, refugee movements, and centralization endeavors in the first half of the twentieth century.

The original inspiration for my book came from the work of anthropologists of the Balkans who have long been questioning stereotypes about the region by examining how individuals subvert the myth of a unitary nation through their everyday choices.[16] Working in a minority village in Greek Macedonia, in 1997 Anastasia Karakasidou confronted the assumptions of what she called "looking-glass histories" that take the nation as a given and unearthed alternative visions of national experiences among people on the ground. The passionate responses to Karakasidou's book, the refusal of a major western press to publish the work, the campaigns in the Greek media portraying the author and her respondents as "national traitors," and the ensuing debate in academic circles at home and abroad obliged scholars to rethink how nationalism affects academic freedom and to challenge rigid interpretations of national history.[17] Engaging in comparative research and examining transnational encounters across national boundaries, scholars have made it clear that interest groups engage in contentious discussions over the meaning of official history, whereas ordinary people initiate dialogues concerning their own notions of belonging.[18] I adopt this emphasis on human agency in the context of historical change and contend

16. See, in particular, Michael Herzfeld, *Ours Once More: Folklore, Ideology, and the Making of Modern Greece* (New York, 1986); and Michael Herzfeld, *The Poetics of Manhood: Contest and Identity in a Cretan Mountain Village* (Princeton, 1985).

17. Anastasia Karakasidou, *Fields of Wheat, Hills of Blood: Passages to Nationhood in Greek Macedonia, 1870–1990* (Chicago, 1997), 228–237.

18. Loring M. Danforth, *The Macedonian Conflict: Ethnic Nationalism in a Transnational World* (Princeton, 1995); Pamela Ballinger, *History in Exile: Memory and Identity at the Borders of the Balkans* (Princeton, 2002); and Keith Brown, *The Past in Question: Modern Macedonia and the Uncertainties of Nation* (Princeton, 2003).

that individual stories of national struggles are essential to counterbalance official accounts of national history.

Further eroding the sway of the dominant national narratives were interdisciplinary studies of nationalism that have scrutinized the origins of national ideology and revealed the constructed and modern nature of nationalism.[19] The constant interplay between local and national perspectives confirms the hypothesis that the state never had a monopoly over the national message.[20] Challenging views which simply assume that each person is rooted in his or her national identity, Rogers Brubaker introduced the notion of "nationness," proposing to treat the nation "not as substance but as an institutionalized form . . . not as entity but as contingent event."[21] The sociologist has further criticized the practice of "groupism"—or attaching the label of a stable group to social aggregates such as the nation—and has held that such rigid categories are not givens but constitute "ways of perceiving, interpreting, and representing the social world." Instead, he has put forward a dynamic, processual approach to nationhood that avoids the propensity of national practitioners to reify the nation as a protagonist in national struggles.[22]

By focusing on the contextual and volatile nature of nationality, historians have revealed that, contrary to normative interpretations, the national allegiances of many Europeans were in flux until late in the process of nation-state formation. Instead of perpetuating the metaphors of "awakening" or "national revival" that link ethnicity to nationality, such analyses have refuted the botanical vocabulary of nationalism that tends to "root" nations and peoples into territories.[23] During the process of state-building in Europe, even when the institutions of the nation-states tried to forge uniformity within their realms, "political amphibians" navigated official expectations and "abused the possibilities of choosing different identities."[24] The best-documented case of individuals swinging between allegiances in the eastern European context comes from the Habsburg Bohemian lands

19. For an overview of the premises of this literature, see Geoff Eley and Ronald Grigor Suny, eds., *Becoming National: A Reader* (New York, 1996).

20. For the importance of regional differences, see Irina Livezeanu, *Cultural Politics in Greater Romania: Regionalism, Nation Building and Ethnic Struggle, 1918–1930* (Ithaca, 1995).

21. Rogers Brubaker, *Nationalism Reframed: Nationhood and the National Question in the New Europe* (New York, 1996), 16.

22. Rogers Brubaker, *Ethnicity without Groups* (Cambridge, Mass., 2004), 17; and Rogers Brubaker, Margit Feischmidt, Jon Fox, and Liana Grancea, *Nationalist Politics and Everyday Ethnicity in a Transylvanian Town* (Princeton, 2006), 10.

23. For a criticism of the presumption of "national awakening," see Paschalis Kitromilides, "'Imagined Communities' and the Origins of the National Question in the Balkans," *European History Quarterly* 19 (1989): 149–192; and Jeremy King, "The Nationalization of East Central Europe: Ethnicism, Ethnicity, and Beyond," in *Staging the Past: The Politics of Commemoration in Habsburg Central Europe, 1848 to the Present*, ed. Maria Bucur and Nancy Wingfield (West Lafayette, 2001), 112–152. For the vegetative vocabulary of nationalism, see Pamela Ballinger, "'Authentic Hybrids' in the Balkan Borderlands," *Current Anthropology* 45 (2004): 43.

24. Peter Sahlins, *Boundaries: The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees* (Berkeley, 1989), 269.

where the population's local identities and supranational loyalties severely limited the success of nationalization endeavors. Well into the twentieth century national activists used the nineteenth-century term "amphibian" to refer to those "Germanized Czechs" or "Czechified Germans" who switched between nationalities or whose nationality remained unclear.[25]

Despite nationalists' attempts to polarize the population and mark it nationally, individuals showed indifference to nationality, juggled the identities of several nations, or refused to commit to one national tradition. "Nationally opportunist behaviors" were not anomalies but "expressed the fundamental logic of local cultures in multilingual regions." This logic was the rule rather than the exception across eastern Europe, where people "did not automatically translate division in language use into divisions of self-identification." Bilingualism, intermarriage, and national side-switching were normal behaviors of people who found national identity irrelevant to their daily lives.[26] As in (post-)Habsburg East-Central Europe, I recover the existence of "individuals with fluid consciousness" among the Bulgarian Greeks and claim that national ambiguity was an intrinsic part of the transition from empire to nation-states in the (post-)Ottoman Balkans.[27]

What distinguishes the Balkan case from that of East-Central Europe, however, is the large scale of population movements, which intensified the multiplicity and plasticity of people's identities.[28] The idiosyncrasy of collective identifications during the final disintegration of the Ottoman Empire was most obvious during the Greek-Turkish population exchange of 1922–23, which revealed the cultural syncretism and national ambiguity of the targeted populations.[29] Even though the refugees belonged to the dominant ethnic group in their new countries, their socioeconomic marginalization

25. Jeremy King, *Budweisers into Czechs and Germans: A Local History of Bohemian Politics, 1848–1948* (Princeton, 2002). Other hybrid categories included the Silesian "Water Poles," the Serbian "Hermaphrodites," and the Hungarian "Janissaries." See Chad Bryant, *Prague in Black: Nazi Rule and Czech Nationalism* (Cambridge, Mass., 2007), 3–4.

26. Pieter Judson, *Guardians of the Nation: Activists on the Language Frontiers of Imperial Austria* (Cambridge, Mass., 2006), 3, 6. For national indifference, see James Bjork, *Neither German nor Pole: Catholicism and National Indifference in a Central European Borderland* (Ann Arbor, 2008); and Tara Zahra, *Kidnapped Souls: National Indifference and the Battle for Children in the Bohemian Lands, 1900–1948* (Ithaca, 2008).

27. Scholars of the Balkans have only recently begun to engage in a theoretical conceptualization of multi-nationality. For the unstable national allegiances in Macedonia, see Jane Cowan, "Fixing National Subjects in the 1920s Southern Balkans: Also an International Practice," *American Ethnologist* 35 (2008): 338–356. For the complex loyalties of the Phanariots, see Christine Philliou, "Worlds, Old and New: Phanariot Networks and the Remaking of Ottoman Governance in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 2004). For the dilemmas of the Greeks in the Ottoman Empire, see Vangelis Kechriotis, "Greek-Orthodox, Ottoman Greeks or just Greeks? Theories of Coexistence in the Aftermath of the Young Turk Revolution" *Études Balkaniques* (2005): 51–71. For Bosnia, see Edin Hajdarpasic, "Whose Bosnia?: National Movements, Imperial Reforms, and the Political Re-Ordering of the Late-Ottoman Balkans" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 2008).

28. For an overview of the migration movements, see Ivan Ninić, ed., *Migrations in Balkan History* (Belgrade, 1989).

29. Some works on the population exchange include Ladas, *The Exchange of Minorities;* Hirschon, *Crossing the Aegean;* Dimitris Pentzopoulos, *The Balkan Exchange of Minorities and its*

created a level of "intra-national differentiation" in the host society, leading to unlikely political alliances and contributing to differing views of belonging.[30] The uneven integration process of the exchanged communities highlighted the importance of the place of origin for the refugees, their emotional "bridge of memory" with the past, and the changing relationship to the "homeland" over generations.[31] Displacement complicated the multiple identities of the population, because it created a class of citizens that challenged "the national order of things" championed by the state.[32]

The presence of such "national skeptics" demands an interrogation of historians' "methodological nationalism," which uncritically adopts the vocabulary of national brokers and interprets the nation-state as an equivalent of society.[33] Instead of embracing the credibility of foundational historical narratives, scholars need to expose their tendency to project the present onto the past to create the illusion of history as a fixed reality. Renditions of the past can only be understood as the product of the "eternal conflict between victors and vanquished."[34] The reading of primary sources written by national activists has to assume that historical "narratives are made out of silences," because their function is to erase unwelcome versions of the past.[35] In the eastern European context, while idiosyncratic identity issues were involved in the process of making people into national citizens, interest groups continuously silenced the diverging voices and tried to establish one version of the past that privileged the nation.[36] Archives abound with "authoritative" accounts written by national brokers, whereas the alternative views of ordinary people, which are produced at "the margins of history," are treated as mere "opinions."[37] By reading into the anxieties of national activists in official sources and recovering the instability of people's

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Impact upon Greece (Paris, 1962); Onur Yildirim, *Diplomacy and Displacement: Reconsidering the Turco-Greek Exchange of Populations, 1922–1934* (New York, 2006).

30. Maria Vergeti, *Apo tin Ponto stin Ellada. Diadikasies diamorphosis mias ethnotopikis tavtotitas* (Thessaloniki, 1994); Nikos Marantzidis, *Giasasin Millet/Zito to ethnos. Prosphigia, katochi kai emphilios. Ethnotiki tavtotita kai politiki simperiphora stous Tourkophonous ellinoorthodoxous tou Ditikou Pontou* (Irakleio, 2001).

31. Renée Hirschon, *Heirs of the Greek Catastrophe: The Social Life of Asia Minor Refugees in Piraeus* (Oxford, 1989).

32. Liisa Malkki, "Refugees and Exile: From 'Refugee Studies' to the National Order of Things," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24 (1995): 495–524.

33. Brubaker, *Nationalist Politics and Everyday Ethnicity,* 10, criticizes historians for legitimizing the claims of national practitioners. For a discussion of methodological nationalism, see ibid., 24 n. 2.

34. Pierre Nora, *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past,* trans. Arthur Goldhammer (New York, 1996), 22. For a critical examination of the Greek and Turkish historiography, see Onur Yildirim, "The 1923 Population Exchange, Refugees and National Historiographies in Greece and Turkey," *East European Quarterly* 40 (2006): 45–70.

35. Michael-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston, 1995), 152.

36. Bucur and Wingfield, *Staging the Past;* Maria Todorova, ed., *Balkan Identities: Nation and Memory* (New York, 2004).

37. Anthropologists have been at the fore of recovering versions of the past produced by non-historians. See Brown, *The Past in Question;* Penelope Papailias, *Genres of Recollection: Archival Poetics and Modern Greece* (New York, 2005).

identities in memoirs, letters, novels, and oral history interviews, I reconstruct alternative definitions of Bulgarianness and Greekness that do not conform to the "accepted" version of national belonging.

The disappearance of the Ottoman, Russian, and Habsburg Empires, often described in terms of "ethnic unmixing," allows an examination of what Eric Weitz has called "population politics," or "the handling of entire population groups categorized by ethnicity, nationality, or race."[38] First introduced by the British diplomat Lord Curzon in reference to the obligatory Greek-Turkish population exchange of 1923, and later used by scholars to describe the demographic reshuffling linked to the demise of empires after World War I, the term "ethnic unmixing" conveys the difficulty of managing discreet population groups defined in ethnic and national terms. As western diplomats forged the new international system of population management, the problematic nature of nationhood in eastern Europe made it impossible to furnish stable criteria by which to define a minority or a majority.[39] The imperial loyalties of individuals, whether Ottoman, Habsburg, or Russian, did not disappear with the disintegration of the three multiethnic entities, and though differences existed between the three, unstable nationality appeared as one of the defining characteristics of twentieth-century eastern Europe in its transition from empires to nation-states.[40] Thus the "Balkan aberration" of ethnic heterogeneity can be inscribed in a pan-European context, because European policies of population management determined the experience of the post–Ottoman Balkans by making normative the dominance of one population, the majority, in the nation-state.

Instead of being typically "Balkan," the nationalization of eastern European societies in many ways resembled the mechanisms of state control enforced elsewhere. The state bureaucracies' attempt to enhance the "legibility" of their populations through censuses, maps, language standardization, and various forms of surveillance was one of the defining features

38. Weitz, "From the Vienna to the Paris System," 1314.

39. Rogers Brubaker revived the use of the term in "The Aftermath of Empire and the Unmixing of Peoples" in *After Empire: Multiethnic Societies and Nation-Building: The Soviet Union and the Russian, Ottoman, and Habsburg Empires,* ed. Karen Barkey and Mark von Hagen (Boulder, 1997), 155–180, but he has been criticized for his uncritical use of the term. See Weitz, "From the Vienna to the Paris System," 1338 n. 78. See also Carole Fink, *Defending the Rights of Others: The Great Powers, the Jews, and International Minority Protection, 1878–1938* (New York, 2004); Mark Mazower, "Violence and the State in the Twentieth Century" *AHR* 107 (2002): 1158–1178.

40. The Czech lands remain the best-studied area. See King, *Budweisers into Czechs and Germans;* Bryant, *Prague in Black;* and Zahra, *Kidnapped Souls.* For the Polish lands, see Bjork, *Neither German nor Pole;* and Larry Wolff, *The Idea of Galicia: History and Fantasy in Habsburg Political Culture* (Stanford, 2010). For the Russian context, see Ronald Grigor Suny and Terry Martin, eds., *A State of Nations: Empire and Nation-Making in the Age of Lenin and Stalin* (Oxford, 2001); Kate Brown, *A Biography of No Place: From Ethnic Borderland to Soviet Heartland* (Cambridge, Mass., 2004); and Francine Hirsch, *Empire of Nations: Ethnographic Knowledge and the Making of the Soviet Union* (Ithaca, 2005).

of what James Scott has termed "high modernism."[41] In western Europe, educational reforms, universal military service, and fiscal policies served to delineate frontiers and spread the imperatives of the state earlier than in the eastern parts of the continent.[42] That twentieth-century international experts presented minorities and refugees as an eastern European concern does not preclude the existence of similar problems in their own societies.[43] Everywhere in the West, citizenship rules, passport requirements, and immigrant regulations enhanced the administrative reach of the state and codified restrictive policies that exacted duties from citizens.[44] The willingness of officials to neglect the rights of individuals for the priorities of the nation-state was not an eastern European trend; bureaucracies in the West also sought sweeping solutions to forge homogeneous national bodies. Comparing the execution of such policies in Bulgaria and Greece, I discover important differences in how national ideology and state-building practice developed in the two countries. I question the existence of a "Balkan" way of dealing with minorities and refugees, and contend that the process of nationalization in the Balkans shared many features with western Europe.

To explain how these trends worked among the Bulgarian Greeks, I contrast macro-dynamics and micro-perspectives on migration and minority politics, revealing that both the official nationalization policies and the national allegiances of the population fluctuated throughout the period. At the state level I scrutinize the involvement of the governments of Bulgaria and Greece, the European powers, and international agencies for refugee relief in analyzing how the parties agreed to minority protection mechanisms when conflicting views collided. I present a comprehensive picture of minority debates in the Balkans as a whole, but I also highlight the various, specific policies enforced locally. European powers were continuously involved in the Balkans, believing in their own superior knowledge and imposing visions of national homogeneity in a local context that they hardly understood.[45] Assuming that the minority question was an eastern European problem because of the degree of "mixing" in the area, western representatives implemented harsh measures of "unmixing" that failed to grasp the magnitude of the task of moving borders and people. But Balkan political elites did not simply copy western practices, and there were marked divergences between Bulgaria and Greece as to the policies implemented.

41. James Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven, 1998).

42. Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870–1914* (Stanford, 1976); and Sahlins, *Boundaries.*

43. For example, interwar France dealt with its diverse populations more harshly than eastern European countries whose minority policies it was supposed to be supervising. See Zahra, "The 'Minority Problem.'"

44. John Torpey, *The Invention of the Passport: Surveillance, Citizenship, and the State* (New York, 2000); Gérard Noiriel, *The French Melting Pot: Immigration, Citizenship, and National Identity,* trans. Geoffroy de Laforcade (Minneapolis, 1996).

45. Weitz, "From the Vienna to the Paris System"; Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans.*

Regularly confronted with realities that defied straightforward decisions, politicians carefully balanced state and individual rights and modified their policies to reflect current practical conditions.

Turning to the local level, I observe ordinary people's responses to the various national projects and their strategies of adaptation to the new rules of national homogeneity. It is my conviction that ordinary people were not simply objects of state-sponsored national policies but were active agents that shaped the national discourse and practice to serve their needs and priorities. According to Pierre Bourdieu, human interaction can be understood only as a constant interplay between multiple agents, in which "belonging to a [social] field means by definition that one is capable of producing effects in it."[46] The reality of "everyday nationalism" unequivocally reveals individuals' marked indifference, open subversion, or silent adaptation to state-formulated national policies.[47] The local affiliations of the population functioned as a powerful countermeasure to the official calls for national unity, and, contrary to widespread wisdom, inter-ethnic solidarity between Bulgarians and Greeks continued to thrive at the local level throughout the period.[48] This tendency reflected a practical inclination to focus on more immediate everyday problems rather than comply with the governmental policies of national unity. Thus individuals were often able to maneuver their national allegiances to achieve benefits in everyday life. People knew that the terms of their interaction with the administration were subject to change, so they actively sought to shape their own lives as well as the policies of their governments.[49]

The interactions between bureaucracies and ordinary people reveal the problematic nature of nationhood during the shift from empire to nation-states in the Balkans. In the examination of the national dilemmas of the Greek minority in Bulgaria, I detect different degrees of national commitment among the population that varied according to community and individual. Most obvious were the national activists, the "professional patriots" who monopolized the national discourse and felt entitled to speak about the allegiances of other people and whose actions are best documented in the archives. But the anxieties of these national brokers often masked more ambiguous experiences of nationhood. Even during periods of national mobilization, there were numerous nationally aware but apolitical individuals who stubbornly stuck to their local allegiances and refused to embrace

46. Loic J. D. Wacquant, *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology* (Chicago, 1992), 102.

47. For a discussion of "everyday ethnicity," see Brubaker, *Nationalist Politics and Everyday Ethnicity*. For an analysis of "everyday nationhood," see Jon Fox and Cynthia Miller-Idriss, "Everyday Nationhood," *Ethnicities* 8 (2008): 536–563. My preference is for the term "everyday nationalism," which implies an interaction between officials and ordinary people.

48. For the importance of social relations on the ground for the survival of minorities, see Karakasidou, *Fields of Wheat, Hills of Blood;* Tone Bringa, *Being Muslim the Bosnian Way* (Princeton, 1995).

49. Herzfeld, *The Poetics of Manhood;* Brubaker, *Nationalist Politics and Everyday Ethnicity*.

straightforward national dictates. Finally, there were those in-between who hesitated to adopt permanently the Greek or Bulgarian national cause and who often switched sides. The struggle of Bulgarians and Greeks to nationalize their territories focused on the need to "stabilize" the national allegiances of those with "fluid consciousness," conceding that national unity existed only on the rhetorical level.

Despite these ambiguities, clear-cut national rhetoric was ubiquitous throughout the period, and "speaking national" remained the frame of reference for official policies and ordinary people's demands.[50] Invoking the nation was effective because it brought together large masses of people with various understandings of nationality and different expectations from the nation-state. Officials used national arguments as the universal justification for their authority over territories while they worked to achieve the homogenization or at least the invisibility of ethnic others. Simple folk employed the national idiom in their encounters with the administrators, hoping to improve their precarious situations within the aggressively nationalizing states. Thus a consensus existed that using national rhetoric was the most suitable strategy for addressing official national priorities and private daily concerns in the context of nationalization.

Because nationality was increasingly the exclusive language of social legitimacy, in some situations national identity functioned as what I call "emergency identity," or a rhetorical strategy that facilitated individuals' adjustment to official policies. The utilization of the national language served as a discourse of entitlement, especially during military conflicts and nationalization campaigns, and the active expression of national loyalty became a strategy for handling the difficult social reality. Alexei Yurchak has used the concept of "ideological literacy" to describe "a technical skill of reproducing prefabricated 'blocks' of discourse" in the Soviet context; in the case discussed here, the need for "national literacy" in a nation-centered context similarly functioned as an "act of recognition of how one must behave . . . in order to reproduce one's status as a social actor."[51] Michael Herzfeld has also examined national stereotypes as figures of speech, suggesting that people use language as a discursive weapon to interact with bureaucrats, meet their expectations, and ultimately play the system.[52] In the same vein, I argue that during state-sponsored campaigns of nationalization, sometimes people intentionally played out their national affiliations as their primary feature of identity to make possible economic placement,

50. I paraphrase Stephen Kotkin, *Magnetic Mountain: Stalinism as Civilization* (Berkeley, 1995), 224–225. In his analysis, "speaking Bolshevik," or using the vocabulary of official Soviet discourse, allowed individuals to enter a "field of play" that made them members of official society. I first elaborated on this idea in Theodora Dragostinova, "Speaking National: Nationalizing the Greeks of Bulgaria, 1900–1939," *SR* 67 (2008): 154–181.

51. Alexei Yurchak, "Soviet Hegemony of Form: Everything Was Forever, Until It Was No More," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 45 (2003): 485–486, 489–490.

52. Michael Herzfeld, *Cultural Intimacy: Social Poetics in the Nation-State* (New York, 1997).

social integration, personal enhancement, or even their own physical survival. As a result, national identity acquired a "provisional stability" that was specific to the context of its articulation.[53] Frequently, when individuals claimed that despite their Greek origins they wanted to be Bulgarians, this trend reflected their willingness to use the national idiom as a language of social legitimacy.

The instability of nationality was characterized by the coexistence of primordial and constructionist discourses and practices of national belonging. Ronald Grigor Suny has emphasized the difference between nationalism as a category of scholarly analysis that recognizes the "fragmented and contested process" of nation-making, on the one hand, and the actual practice of nationalists, on the other, whose "identity-talk" sticks to "essentialist, often primordial, naturalized language about a stable core."[54] Or, as Brubaker has pointed out, reification is central to nationalism, whose practitioners see nations as "collective individuals, capable of coherent, purposeful collective action."[55] Yet this distinction does not mean that the two strands of nationalism remained detached; to the contrary, national activists approached the nation as both stable and ephemeral, permanent and transitory. Thus, when politicians talked about "pure" Bulgarians or Greeks and their "perennial" national allegiances, they understood that these loyalties had to be created anew and maintained on an everyday basis. Bulgarian and Greek brokers of national ideology diligently worked to create the nation around common ideas, to recruit in it the appropriate individuals, and to maintain it as a viable collective body. While activists urged individuals to choose the "correct" nationality—a practice that acknowledged the constructionist elements of nationalism—they portrayed the ensuing "nation" as a community of blood and soul—a rhetoric that relied on a primordial national language. In the case examined here, the existence of "fake" Greeks who would eventually become "true" Bulgarians confirms the premise that, over fifty years, the "nation" was both shifting and fixed, constructed in its making and primordial in its maintenance.

In the background of the breakdown of empires and the consolidation of nation-states, the fate of a small minority group, brought together by language and culture and yet divided in social characteristics, economic interests, and national devotion, reveals an important feature of the twentieth century. The enforcement of policies targeting discrete populations perceived to be outside the mainstream became one of the defining characteristics of the time, whether it was practiced in the consolidation of the

53. Suny points out that this "provisional stabilization" of group identity functions "without closure, without forever naturalizing or essentializing the provisional identities arrived at." See Ronald Grigor Suny, "Provisional Stabilities: The Politics of Identities in Post-Soviet Eurasia," *International Security* 24 (1999/2000): 144.

54. Ronald Grigor Suny, "Constructing Primordialism: Old Histories for New Nations," *JMH* 73 (2001): 865.

55. Brubaker, *Nationalism Reframed*, 13–16.

newly emerging nation-states in the East, in the centralization of the "old nations" in the West, or in the civilizing missions outside the European continent. This overarching trend of population management had a profound impact on the lives of ordinary people, their relationship to the state, and their role in society. Similar to their western counterparts, the Bulgarian and Greek governments enforced various policies that were meant to create a homogeneous society and blend their citizens within the national body. While embracing the motto "one state, one nation," the successive bureaucracies confronted the uneven national incorporation of their citizens with a variety of trusted mechanisms. The state machinery implemented rigorous citizenship requirements, passed economic policies benefiting the dominant nation, required competence in the majority language from all citizens, imposed standardized educational curricula to foster national solidarity, and used monuments, holidays, and commemorations to create symbolic links between all members of the nation. Under other circumstances, officials utilized even harsher techniques such as population movements, the colonization of problematic areas, or the marginalization or assimilation of unwanted ethnic groups. Although these measures targeted all members of society, they weighed more heavily on populations such as minorities and refugees whose different perceptions of civic duty and national belonging only highlighted the social divisions that the state wished to obliterate.

Nevertheless, people continued to challenge the policies of the state with their everyday practices. At the local level, inter-ethnic solidarity and actions beyond national affiliations were evident even during the most severe political crises of the twentieth century. This trend was especially valid in the case of the Bulgarian Greeks whose uneven experience of displacement and pronounced willingness to adapt to nationalization demonstrate that ordinary individuals often made choices that defied the priorities of the nation-state. Human behavior cannot be linked to a sincere belief in nationalism as the main guiding force in life-changing decisions. The nation was a conglomerate of private persons, so we cannot subsume their personalities under the rubric of a faceless collectivity. Instead, the variations of behaviors, expectations, and inclinations fluctuated among the population. This explains why, when faced with the decision of whether to resettle in the "national homeland" or to live as a minority at "home" among a different ethnic group, many Bulgarian Greeks hesitated to relocate and made compromises with their nationality. The choice of a "homeland" provides the perfect example of the human condition, when personal, family, or community concerns countered the national and state-centered policies articulated at the official level. Using the Bulgarian Greeks as a case study, this book examines various understandings of nationhood and displacement, presenting an argument for how states and ordinary people in the Balkans navigated conflicting notions of nationality, citizenship, and belonging in the first half of the twentieth century.

1

The Mixing and Unmixing of Bulgarians and Greeks

In his 1762 book, *The Slavic-Bulgarian History of the Bulgarian People, Kings, and Saints,* Father Paisiĭ of Hilendar commented on the perils of Greek influence among his contemporary Bulgarians: "There are those who do not care to know about their own Bulgarian people [*rod*] and turn to foreign ways [*chuzhda politika*] and a foreign tongue; they . . . learn to read and speak Greek and are ashamed to call themselves Bulgarians." Reprimanding those who considered it "better to become part of the Greeks [*luchshe pristati po grtsi*]," the Mount Athos monk refuted the notion of Greek superiority and exalted the "simple" (*prosti*) but virtuous Bulgarians in opposition to the "refined" (*mudri*) but "calculating" (*politichni*) Greeks. In the rest of his narrative, Father Paisiĭ presented the history of the Bulgarian people from biblical times to the fall of the medieval Bulgarian kingdoms under the Ottoman Turks in the fourteenth century. Describing the "greatest glory" of the Bulgarians throughout the centuries and singling out language as the main factor differentiating Bulgarians and Greeks, the monk urged his reader: "You, Bulgarian, do not be fooled, but know your people and language."[1]

The Slavic-Bulgarian History contained many ideas that would shape the development of Bulgarian nationalism when a new generation of national

1. Paisiĭ Hilendarski, *Slavianobâlgarska istoriia,* ed. Petâr Dinekov (Sofia, 1972), 212–218. For interpretations of the text, see Marin Pundeff, "Bulgarian Nationalism," in Sugar and Lederer, *Nationalism in Eastern Europe,* 98–103; Maria Todorova, "The Course of Discourses of Bulgarian Nationalism," in *Eastern European Nationalism in the Twentieth Century,* ed. Peter Sugar (Washington, D.C., 1995), 74–75; and Nadia Danova, "Vzaimnata predstava na bâlgari i gârtsi. XV-sredata na XIX vek," in *Predstavata za "Drugiia" na Balkanite,* ed. Nadia Danova, Vesela Dimova, and Maria Kalitsin (Sofia, 1995), 179–187.

leaders in the nineteenth century took on Father Paisiĭ's message.[2] Proudly enumerating the medieval Bulgarian kings and patriarchs and their deeds, the Mount Athos monk reminded the Bulgarians that they had an equally glorious past as the rest of the Balkan peoples, which became the mantra of nineteenth-century intellectuals who taught Bulgarian history in a growing number of Bulgarian-language schools. Discussing the Ottoman conquest in the Balkans, he introduced the term "yoke" (*igo*) to describe Ottoman rule, which served as an explanation of the Bulgarians' current bleak situation and remained a lasting metaphor in the Bulgarian national imagination until present times. Yet, when explaining the demise of the medieval Bulgarian kingdoms, Paisiĭ placed the blame for the Bulgarian misfortunes on the fact that the "Greek," or Byzantine, rulers had pitted the Turks against the Bulgarians; he equated the "Byzantines" from medieval times with the contemporary "Greeks," branding the two as cunning, disloyal, and distrustful. In the end Father Paisiĭ's book gave rise to the "double-yoke theory" that influenced the development of the Bulgarian national movement from its inception to the present. In this view, because the Greeks inhibited the development of Bulgarian national consciousness, the spiritual domination of the Greek clergy and teachers over the Bulgarian population in the Ottoman Empire was as oppressive as the political domination of the Ottoman administration over the historic Bulgarian lands. Thus Father Paisiĭ's *Slavic-Bulgarian History* created a tenacious image of the Greek spiritual "yoke" that suffocated the "awakening" of the Bulgarian people and hindered their emancipation from the political "yoke" of the Ottoman Turks.

From Empire to Nation-States

Father Paisiĭ's ideas of ethno-cultural differentiation between Bulgarians and Greeks, based on history and language, are best understood in the context of the political, social, and cultural changes that started to transform the Ottoman Balkans in the late eighteenth century. As old principles of social organization based on religious allegiances gave way to new ideas associated with ethno-linguistic differences and later national consciousness, the Christian subjects of the Ottoman Empire started redefining their traditional ideas of social hierarchy and group belonging. Within the Ottoman Empire, the *millet* system of social relations divided the subjects of the sultan according to religion. While such divisions established the secondary role of the Orthodox Christian (as well as Armenian and Jewish) communities in relation to the Muslims, they also guaranteed the social acceptance of the Christian population in the Ottoman realms. After the fall of Constantinople, in 1453, the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Istanbul supervised all matters pertaining to the

2. Some sixty manuscript copies of Paisiĭ's work are known but the book was only printed in 1844, confirming that it did not have an immediate impact on the population. See R. J. Crampton, *Bulgaria* (Oxford, 2007), 33–34.

Orthodox Christian community, or *Rum millet,* which included individuals from various ethnic backgrounds such as Greeks, Bulgarians, Serbs, Vlachs, and Arab Christians.[3] For the next three centuries the designation "Greek" meant "Orthodox Christian" and, though it often referred to better-off individuals who tended to assimilate in the Greek-speaking, merchant circles, it did not have exclusively ethnic or national connotations.[4] Demography added to the porousness of collective identities, because the populations in the Ottoman Empire did not inhabit territories that corresponded to their ethnicity but formed scattered patches of different ethnic groups in dispersed geographical localities. Whereas compact communities existed in some regions, in the late eighteenth century the empire constituted a large space of intermingled ethnicities and religions, in which people spoke several languages and shared common cultural norms and social habits.

The development of the national idea in the Balkans in the eighteenth century followed a tortuous path, because it coincided with two other complex phenomena: the continuous crises and reform efforts within the Ottoman Empire, on the one hand, and the European powers' involvement in the affairs of the "sick man of Europe," on the other.[5] The economic instability, political volatility, bureaucratic arbitrariness, and inconclusive reforms negatively affected an increasingly strong Christian commercial class, which embraced ideas of religious equality and communal autonomy as a solution to the crisis of authority in the empire. With the generous funding of these merchant elites, a new generation of intellectuals staffed new, secular schools that included history and vernacular language in their curricula. When these intellectuals started narrating the histories and compiling the grammars of "Greeks," "Bulgarians," and "Serbs," among others, they spread a new notion of ethno-linguistic difference among the Orthodox Christian population.[6] Because these intellectual elites sought the establishment of separate educational, cultural, and later political organizations for each group defined according to ethnicity, they challenged the traditional perceptions of social hierarchy in the *millet* system that had been based on religion.

Over time the national intelligentsia also promoted ideas of political autonomy and national sovereignty from the Ottoman Empire. The emergence

3. A classic account on the Ottoman presence in Europe is Peter Sugar, *Southeastern Europe under Ottoman Rule, 1354–1804* (Seattle, 1977). See also Stavros Stavrianos, *The Balkans since 1453* (New York, 1958); Frederick Anscombe, ed., *The Ottoman Balkans, 1750–1830* (Princeton, 2006); Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis, eds., *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society* (New York, 1982).

4. For how persons from various backgrounds aspiring social mobility adopted Greek culture, see Traian Stoianovich, "The Conquering Balkan Orthodox Merchant," *Journal of Economic History* 20 (1960): 234–313.

5. For an analysis based on the relationship between these three forces, see Maria Todorova, "The Ottoman Empire," in *Europe 1789 to 1914: Encyclopedia of the Age of Industry and Empire,* ed. John Merriman and Jay Winter (New York, 2006), 1681–1692. For an overview of the national question in the Balkans, see Charles and Barbara Jelavich, *The Establishment of the Balkan National States, 1804–1920* (Seattle, 1997).

6. Richard Clogg, ed., *Balkan Society in the Age of Greek Independence* (London, 1981).

of political movements that sought the creation of nation-states for the Christian peoples of the Balkans marked the nineteenth century, at a time when nationalism also became a dominant force in the rest of Europe.[7] After the Congress of Vienna in 1815, when the national movements of the Balkan Christians challenged the European commitment to preserving the Ottoman territorial status quo, the question of Balkan sovereignty became a part of the Eastern Question and the attempts of European powers to delineate their spheres of influence in the Ottoman Empire.[8] The Sublime Porte implemented a series of reforms during the *Tanzimat* period of reorganization, notably with the 1839 and 1856 reform proclamations, which promised equal rights to all Ottoman subjects regardless of religion. However, these steps failed to satisfy the Balkan nationalist elites that became increasingly radical as the nineteenth century progressed.[9]

The Greek national movement had its roots in merchant circles within Greek diasporic communities, scattered throughout the Ottoman Empire and Europe, whose members were well educated, exposed to European Enlightenment ideas, and inspired by Philhellenic visions of the glorious past of ancient Greece.[10] The Greek War of Independence that began in 1821 disclosed the existence of divergent ideas of Greek nationhood among political, military, religious, and economic elites throughout the Ottoman Empire. The crisis brought international attention to the area and created the climate for European intervention on behalf of the Ottoman Christian population. When the Greek Kingdom emerged as an independent but territorially limited state in 1830, the new national administrations experienced repeated political crises and economic challenges. Life in nineteenth-century Greece became dominated by the administrative chaos and the continued importance of local elites, the recurrent economic problems and financial crises, the tensions between the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the newly established Greek Orthodox Church, the struggles between the "autochthones" of the Greek Kingdom and the "heterochthones" of the Greek diaspora, and the mass emigration to the United States. In addition, large Greek populations continued to inhabit Ottoman Asia Minor, Anatolia, the Black Sea coast, and Pontos, and, despite their economic power, cultural prominence, and political influence, they did not always support the national projects of the Greek Kingdom.[11]

7. See the contributions in Sugar and Lederer, *Nationalism in Eastern Europe.*

8. A. L. Macfie, *The Eastern Question, 1774–1923* (New York, 1989).

9. For Ottoman reforms, see Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* (Oxford, 1961), 40–128.

10. Stephen G. Xydis, "Modern Greek Nationalism," in Sugar and Lederer, *Nationalism in Eastern Europe,* 207–258; Victor Roudometof, "From *Rum Millet* to Greek Nation: Enlightenment, Secularization, and National Identity in Ottoman Balkan Society, 1453–1821" *JMGS* 16 (1998): 11–48; and Kitromilides, " 'Imagined Communities.' "

11. Elli Skopetea, *To "Protipo Vasileio" kai i Megali Idea. Opseis tou ethnikou provlimatos stin Ellada (1830–1880)* (Athens, 1988).

In 1844 Ioannis Kolettis formulated the *Megali Idea* (Great Idea), which outlined the main premises of Greek nationalism. Merging the legacy of classical antiquity and the Byzantine Orthodox heritage, he defined as Greek everyone who "lives in whatever country is historically Greek, or whoever is of the Greek race." Greekness was a cultural phenomenon that included all lands in the sphere of Greek cultural influence since ancient times, with Istanbul (still Constantinople for the Greeks) as its center. To secure the demographic basis of this ambitious national project, national activists employed cultural Hellenization as a method to attract recruits from other ethnic groups to the Greek nation.[12] But the ambiguous success of the Greek Kingdom as the leading force behind the Megali Idea and the expansion of the *Tanzimat* reforms in the Ottoman Empire after 1856 led to the emergence of Greco-Ottomanism. This ideology advanced the notion of a reformed Ottoman citizenship that guaranteed equal rights regardless of religious affiliation and that coexisted with a sense of Greek cultural belonging independent of the Greek state. These ideas put at odds the expansionist agenda of the Greek Kingdom and the compromise reform visions of the Ottoman Greek circles, creating an ambivalent relationship between the two main proponents of the Greek idea.[13]

As a latecomer, the Bulgarian national movement articulated its agenda not exclusively against the Ottoman Empire but also in response to the Serbian, Greek, and Romanian movements that had successfully established nation-states in the nineteenth century. As evident from Paisiĭ's work, Bulgarian intellectuals sought to counter the importance of Greek culture, castigating Greek elites and especially the Patriarchist clergy for stripping the Bulgarian population of its history and traditions. These ideas spread during the "Revival Period" (*Vâzrazhdane*) of "national awakening" in the nineteenth century when nationalist intellectuals, clergy, and members of the commercial class focused on education and religion to undercut the Greek influence among the Bulgarian population.[14] In the 1820s a growing network of Bulgarian-language schools, funded by local communities, undermined the appeal of Greek education. A parallel movement for religious emancipation demanded the use of the Bulgarian language in sermons and the appointment of Bulgarian-speaking priests in Bulgarian localities. But national leaders remained divided in their degree of support for the national idea. In the third quarter of the nineteenth century some advocated moderate

12. Xydis, "Modern Greek Nationalism," 237.

13. Kechriotis, "Greek-Orthodox, Ottoman Greeks or just Greeks?"; Gerasimos Augustinos, *Consciousness and History: Nationalist Critics of Greek Society, 1897–1914* (Boulder, 1977); Gerasimos Augustinos, *The Greeks of Asia Minor: Confession, Community, and Ethnicity in the Nineteenth Century* (Kent, 1992); Charis Exertzoglou, *Ethniki tavtotita stin Konstantinoupoli ton 19o aiona. O Ellinikos Philologikos Sillogos Konstantinopoleos, 1861–1912* (Athens, 1996); Sia Anagnostopoulou, *Mikra Asia, 19os ai.—1919. Oi Ellinoorthodoxes Koinotites. Apo to Millet ton Romion sto Elliniko Ethnos* (Athens, 1998).

14. Nikolaĭ Genchev, *Bâlgarsko Vâzrazhdane* (Sofia, 1988). For the notions of "reawakening" and "national renaissance," see King, "The Nationalization of East Central Europe."

views of a pan-Balkan Christian confederation or a Bulgarian-Ottoman compromise on the model of the 1867 Austro-Hungarian compromise, whereas others promoted radical ideas of political emancipation through conspiratorial activities and armed uprisings. The 1876 April Uprising against the Ottoman Empire, however, failed to attract broad support, and its bloody suppression created doubts among the revolutionaries regarding the extent to which the national idea had penetrated the population at large.[15]

With the maturation of Bulgarian national ideology in the second half of the nineteenth century, the opposition between Bulgarians and Greeks saw a shift from language to religion. This development was linked to Bulgarian challenges to the authority of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Istanbul, now dubbed the "Greek Church" because Bulgarian leaders believed that it supported the Greek cause at the detriment of the Bulgarian population in the Ottoman Empire. Bulgarian activists emphasized the corruption of Greek bishops and their oppression of their Bulgarian parishioners, presenting the Patriarchate as the main adversary of the Bulgarian population:

> [The Greek bishops] are obsessed with their beloved dream of domination over all orthodox populations in the [Ottoman] empire. . . . So how should the Bulgarians act given this situation? Are they supposed to patiently accept the spiritual yoke [*duhovnoto igo*] that the Greeks had forced upon them, only because of their deep reverence to Orthodox Christianity, when the high clergy of the [Ecumenical] Church did not care about anything else but collecting their dues and supporting the dominance of the Greek cause [*gospodstvoto na gârtsizma*], with the assistance of the Turks, against the interests of the Bulgarian and other orthodox peoples?[16]

Building upon Paisiĭ's idea of the "Greek yoke" and his emphasis on language as the vehicle of the "awakening" of the Bulgarian consciousness, this new generation of national leaders considered that only the establishment of a separate Bulgarian Church, with a Bulgarian-speaking clergy loyal to its Bulgarian-speaking parishioners, could put an end to the spiritual oppression of the Bulgarians by the Greek bishops.

Because the Bulgarian Church question represented an anti-Greek, not an anti-Ottoman, movement, in 1870 the Porte allowed the establishment of a Bulgarian Church, the Exarchate, which essentially created a new Bulgarian Orthodox *millet* distinct from the Ecumenical Orthodox authorities. The Patriarchate responded by declaring a schism in 1872, blaming the Bulgarian Church for introducing ethnic divisions (*philethismos*) into religious life. This crisis between the Exarchate and the Patriarchate would continue to cause tensions not only between the two institutions but also

15. Pundeff, "Bulgarian Nationalism"; Crampton, *Bulgaria,* 91–93.
16. T. St. Burmov, *Bâlgaro-grâtskata tsârkovna razpria* (Sofia, 1902), 46.

between the Bulgarian and Greek states for the rest of the nineteenth and into the twentieth century. The Exarchate not only challenged Patriarchist influence among the Orthodox Christian subjects of the Ottoman Empire; it also asserted Bulgarian prerogatives in territories that the Greek Kingdom included in its program for territorial expansion, creating alarm among secular Greek leaders as well. Because the new dioceses of the Exarchate mapped the domains of a future Bulgarian nation-state in the Ottoman lands, Greek nationalists rightly saw it as the basis for Bulgarian political separation and a challenge to Greek interests.[17] Furthermore, the 1870 imperial *firman* authorized plebiscites, in which two-thirds of the population had to endorse one of the respective Churches, in areas contested by the Patriarchate and the Exarchate. National activists supporting both sides clashed in their attempts to convince the wavering Christian population of the Ottoman Empire. This process of delineating the Exarchate's spheres of influence against the Patriarchate outlined the realms of the Bulgarian nation in the Ottoman Empire and alerted the other Balkan states to the extent of the Bulgarian territorial aspirations. But the plebiscites also demonstrated that, in the territories that would become part of the Bulgarian state several years later, large populations with Greek loyalties chose to remain under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate.[18]

The Ottoman-Russian War of 1877–78 led to the establishment of an extensive Bulgarian state, supported by Russia, via the San Stefano Treaty of 3 March 1878. Because the European powers feared that a large Russian ally would dominate the Balkans, the Berlin Treaty, of 13 July 1878, returned many territories to the Ottoman Empire and split San Stefano Bulgaria into two; the vassal Principality of Bulgaria roughly north of the Balkan Mountains and the autonomous Ottoman province of Eastern Rumelia to the south. The precedent of the San Stefano Treaty created political friction between Bulgarian and Greek nationalist elites for the remainder of the nineteenth century and throughout the twentieth; Bulgarians saw the treaty as a recognition of their rights over these extensive territories, while Greeks, also claiming these lands, were alarmed at the prospect of Bulgaria incorporating the Ottoman provinces. Greek fears regarding Bulgarian expansionism proved true with the unification of Eastern Rumelia with the Principality of Bulgaria in 1885, following a grassroots coup supported by broad sectors of Bulgarian society.[19]

17. Ivan Snegarov, *Otnosheniata mezhdu bâlgarskata tsâkva i drugite pravoslavni tsârkvi sled provâzglasiavaneto na shizmata* (Sofia, 1929); Paraskevas Matalas, *Ethnos kai Orthodoxia. Oi peripeteies mias schesis. Apo to "elladiko" sto Boulgariko schisma* (Irakleio, 2002).

18. For the early years of the Exarchate, see Zina Markova, *Bâlgarskata Ekzarhiia, 1870–1879* (Sofia, 1989). For the Greek population in the Bulgarian territories before 1878, see Shtelian Shterionov, *Gârtsite po bâlgarskite zemi prez XVIII–XIX vek (do 1878 godina). Istoriko-demografska harakteristika* (Sofia, 2008).

19. Jelavich, *The Establishment of the Balkan National States,* 158–169.

After 1885 the Bulgarian administration pursued more systematic policies against its Turkish and Greek populations, trying to limit the autonomy that they had enjoyed in Eastern Rumelia prior to the unification. In an attempt to forge national citizens, in 1892 officials instituted obligatory Bulgarian-language education for the children of all Bulgarian citizens, which both the Greek and Turkish populations resented and sought to circumvent.[20] The main conflict between Bulgarians and Greeks remained religion, because the Greek population in unified Bulgaria continued to recognize the authority of the Patriarchate. Bulgarian nationalists perceived a discrepancy between the Greeks' political membership in the Bulgarian state and their religious membership in the "Greek" church. Activists complained that, as Bulgarian citizens, many Greeks participated in the civil service, became mayors and members of the National Assembly, or had prosperous businesses; yet, as Patriarchist Christians, they did not recognize the Exarchate (which the Patriarchate continued to call "schismatic") and kept their communities apart from the Bulgarian population. Most important, the Greeks had their own churches, schools, communal buildings, and other economic assets that the Patriarchate managed and that were often superior to those of the Bulgarians. This arrangement irritated both the Exarchist clergy and secular nationalists, leading to various campaigns to expropriate Greek communal buildings, especially churches and monasteries, in the late nineteenth century.[21] Despite the minority clauses in the Berlin Treaty of 1878, which guaranteed freedom and equality to all persons in Bulgaria regardless of their "religious creeds and confessions," the new Bulgarian bureaucracy, in alliance with the fiercely anti-Greek Exarchist clergy, adopted the logic of a nationalizing state and enforced limitations on the Greeks. However, the sporadic nature of these campaigns demonstrates that, in these first twenty-five years, the leaders of the Principality of Bulgaria did not have a clearly defined policy against their Greek populations.

From Religious to National Community

In addition to the macro-dimensions of the conflict between Bulgarian and Greek national activists, the second half of the nineteenth century saw a shift in how people perceived their local "communities" (*koinotites* in Greek, *obshtini* in Bulgarian) as units of social and political organization. According

20. For Bulgarian policies against minorities until 1885, see Zhorzheta Nazârska, *Maltsinstveno-religiozna politika v Iztochna Rumeliia, 1879–1885* (Sofia, 1997); Zhorzheta Nazârska, *Bâlgarskata dârzhava i neĭnite maltsinstva, 1879–1885* (Sofia, 1999); and Xanthippi Kotzageorgi, ed., *Oi Ellines tis Voulgarias. Ena istoriko tmima tou periphereiakou ellinismou* (Thessaloniki, 1999), 49–62.

21. Detailed descriptions of actions against the Greek communities are *Voulgaron energeiai pros katalisin tou kratous tis ellinikis ekklisias kai katastrophin tis ellinikis ethnotitos en te Anatoliki Romilia kai Voulgaria* (Athens, 1908); and Episkopos Eirinoupoleos Photios, *Episima engrapha kai istorikai simeioseis peri tis voulgarikis politikis kai ton voulgarikon kakourgion pros exontosin tou ellinismou tis Anatolikis Romilias 1878–1914* (Athens, 1919).

to a definition from the 1930s, a community was "a group of persons living in a given country or locality, . . . united by their identity of race, religion, language and traditions in a sentiment of solidarity, with a view to preserving their traditions, maintaining their form of worship, ensuring the instruction and upbringing of their children in accordance with the spirit and traditions of their race and rendering mutual assistance to each other."[22] Within the Ottoman Empire a "community" referred to the organization of all Orthodox Christians under the authority of the Patriarchate, and its members had a degree of religious, educational, and administrative autonomy.[23] But in the nineteenth century, and especially with the clash between Bulgarian and Greek nationalists in the religious sphere, activists started defining the "community" more in national than religious terms.

In the 1850s, when intellectuals and merchants advocating Bulgarian religious autonomy challenged the right of Greek ecclesiastical elites to represent the entire Orthodox population before the Ottoman authorities, they demanded the establishment of Bulgarian "religious communities" (*religiozni obshtini*) separate from those under the jurisdiction of the Greek-dominated Patriarchate. Such demands led to heated controversies and power struggles at the local level over the communal institutions and religious buildings that had once been shared by the Bulgarian- and Greek-speaking populations. After the founding of the Exarchate in 1870, many communities with a predominantly Bulgarian-speaking population abandoned the Patriarchate and turned to the Exarchate. Nevertheless, in the territories that would become part of the Bulgarian state in 1878, the Patriarchate preserved its jurisdiction over multiple communities in the Plovdiv/Philippoupolis and Black Sea areas where the Greek population was in the majority, maintaining five bishoprics in Plovdiv/Philippoupolis, Varna, Anhialo/Anchialos, Sozopol/Sozoupolis, and Mesemvria. The 1878 Berlin Treaty confirmed the prerogatives of the Patriarchate within the Principality of Bulgaria and the autonomous province of Eastern Rumelia, granting autonomy to the Patriarchist communities and guaranteeing their religious freedom and civil and political rights.[24]

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century religious and national distinctions between Greek and Bulgarian communities remained blurred. Within the Bulgarian state, what separated a "Greek" community from a "Bulgarian" one was whether its members recognized the authority of the Patriarchate rather than of the Exarchate. Although often that meant that members of Patriarchist communities were predominantly "Greek," as

22. TsDA, f. 719k, op. 26, a.e. 6, ll. 159–203. Advisory Opinion of the Hague Court of International Justice, 31 July 1931.

23. For the Greek communities in the Ottoman Empire, see Augustinos, *The Greeks of Asia Minor;* Anagnostopoulou, *Mikra Asia.*

24. For the Greeks in the Bulgarian lands before 1878, see Shterionov, *Gârtsite po bâlgarskite zemi;* Shtelian Shterionov, *Migratsiiata na grâtskoto naselenie obitavashto bâlgarskite zemi prez XVIII–XIX vek (do 1878 godina)* (Sofia, 2009); and Emmanouil Grigoriou, *Ellines kai Voulgaroi* (Thessaloniki, 1954), 53–111.

defined by language and ideas of common descent, some Bulgarian speakers remained part of the Patriarchist religious communities in their areas and earned the name *grâkomani* (literally, "Greek-maniacs"), which Bulgarian nationalists assigned to them.

Religious, cultural, political, and national dynamics overlapped in the functioning of Patriarchist communities in the Principality of Bulgaria. In terms of religion, the Patriarchate owned a significant number of churches and monasteries in Bulgarian territory, staffed these institutions with Patriarchist priests who used manuals printed in Istanbul, and assigned its own five bishops in consultation with the Bulgarian government but independent of the Exarchate. Culturally the communities maintained schools that followed the curricula of the Greek Kingdom; established associations, libraries, reading clubs, orchestras, theaters, women's organizations, and leisure clubs that created social bonds among the population; and sponsored philanthropic institutions like orphanages and soup kitchens that provided services to destitute members. Politically the population elected mayors and members of city councils as representatives in the local administration and chose leaders to coordinate communication with the Patriarchate, the Greek Kingdom, and the Bulgarian government. From a national viewpoint, members of the communities were exposed to the Greek idea through the circulation of newspapers and books printed in Greece, the celebration of Greek national holidays such as the King's name day, the activities of Greek consular officials in Burgas/Pirgos, Varna, and Plovdiv/Philippoupolis, and the initiatives of nationalist organizations that collected financial assistance or dispatched volunteers to support the Greek cause.[25]

In terms of numbers, Greek-affiliated populations could be counted and classified according to three categories: Greek speakers, Patriarchist Christians, and self-designated Greeks. Bulgarian censuses after 1878 mapped their inhabitants according to "nationality" (*narodnost*) and "mother tongue" (*materen ezik*), and subsumed Exarchists and Patriarchists in the category of the Orthodox Christian "creed" (*veroizpovedanie*), not providing an accurate count for those who had chosen the Patriarchate. Between 1878 and 1900, on the basis of "nationality," the Greeks consistently represented 2 percent of the Bulgarian inhabitants. In 1900 they numbered 70,887 persons, comprising 1.8 percent of the population, with 73 percent inhabiting urban communities. Their largest number, in proportion to the total population, was in Kavakli (96 percent), Sozopol/Sozoupolis (90 percent), Mesemvria (89 percent), and Anhialo/Anchialos (82 percent). Other communities with visible Greek presence included Stanimaka/Stenimachos

25. The most comprehensive examination of the Bulgarian Greeks remains Kotzageorgi, *Oi Ellines tis Voulgarias.* See also Spiridon Ploumidis, *Ethnotiki simviosi sta Balkania: Ellines kai Voulgaroi sti Philippoupoli, 1878–1914* (Athens, 2005); Galia Vâlchinova, "Grâtskoto naselenie i grâtskata identichnost v Bâlgariia: Kâm istoriiata na edno nesâstoialo se maltsinstvo," *Istorichesko bâdeshte* 2 (1998): 147–164; and Galia Vâlchinova, "Gârtsi," in *Obshtnosti i identichnosti v Bâlgariia,* ed. Anna Krâsteva (Sofia, 1998), 207–220.

(52 percent), Burgas/Pirgos (31 percent), Varna (16 percent), and Plovdiv/Philippoupolis (9 percent). Greek diplomats considered two other groups as "Greeks," however—the Gagauz and the Karakachani (Sarakatsani, in Greek), which Bulgarian officials counted as separate "nationalities." According to the 1900 census, some 8,251 Gagauz, Turkish-speaking Christians who recognized the authority of the Patriarchate, inhabited compact villages north of Varna. Some 3,309 Karakachani, a nomadic stock-breeding population that spoke a Greek-based dialect, lived in the Sliven area and some regions in the Rodopi/Rodopes Mountains. Accordingly Greek diplomats estimated the total number of "Greeks," including the Karakachani and Gagauz, to be approximately 82,447 persons, a number that largely concurs with official Bulgarian data on the three groups.[26] During the same period the Patriarchate counted some 100,000 "Greeks" in Bulgaria, most likely including in its estimate the Bulgarian-speaking members of Patriarchist communities.[27] But Bulgarian officials firmly treated this group as Bulgarians by "nationality," insisting on national distinctions based on language and refusing to differentiate between the Patriarchist and Exarchist Orthodox Christians in Bulgarian territory. These conflicting ways of counting and classifying the population demonstrates the murkiness of the linguistic, religious, and national factors involved in deciding who in nineteenth-century Bulgaria was a "Greek."

From a socioeconomic viewpoint, the population was split between urban and rural. Plovdiv/Philippoupolis, the former capital of Eastern Rumelia, was an important commercial and industrial center where many factory and large estate owners lived. The nearby Stanimaka/Stenimachos and the surrounding villages of Voden/Vodena and Kuklen/Kouklaina developed as centers for wine production and trade. Varna and Burgas/Pirgos were naval and commercial hubs with connections to the Greek communities in Russia and the Ottoman Empire. Anhialo/Anchialos, Mesemvria, and Sozopol/Sozoupolis possessed significant merchant colonies and flourishing networks of retailers that catered to an affluent local society, while others worked as fishermen or were employed in the profitable viniculture and salt-mining industries. In contrast to these urban and largely affluent communities with a thriving cultural life, the inhabitants of the Kavakli (today Topolovgrad) area, also known by their local appellation Karioti/Kariotes, were predominantly agricultural and lived in remote, mountainous areas with poor soil and an inhospitable climate (see map 1).[28] The Gagauz were

26. Bulgarian census data are best summarized in Kotzageorgi, *Oi Ellines tis Voulgarias*, 121–199, 208–212, 216–219; for references to other sources, including Greek diplomatic reports, see 220–228.

27. Patriarchat Oecuménique, *Memorandums adressés aux représentants des Grandes Puissances a Constantinople et autres documents relatifs aux récents évènements de Bulgarie et de Roumélie Orientale* (Constantinople, 1906), 10.

28. Selected studies include Stefan Shivachev, *Ochertsi iz istoriiata na Plovdiv* (Plovdiv, 1994); K. Mirtilos Apostolidis, *I tis Philippoupoleos istoria apo ton archaiotaton mechri ton kath'imas chronon* (Athens, 1959); K. Mirtilos Apostolidis, *O Stenimachos* (Athens, 1929);

mostly rural and secluded, whereas the Karakachani practiced transient stockbreeding and were markedly mobile.[29]

The diversity of geographical locations, socioeconomic backgrounds, and communal understandings makes it difficult to map the collective identifications of the Greeks in the Principality of Bulgaria. There was also tension between "ethnic," or cultural, and "national," or political, understandings of Greekness. In the late nineteenth century, although many saw themselves as Greeks from the viewpoint of *ethnicity*, or as a group that shared a common language, history, and traditions, they did not translate this awareness into solidarity based on *nationality*, or as a political project associated with the Greek nation-state. Many called themselves "Thracians" (*Thrakes*), "Romelians" (*Romeliotes*), or simply "Christians" (*Romios*, or belonging to the *Rum millet*), and only in the twentieth century started using the appellation "Greeks" or, in its Greek version, *Ellines*.

As a result, being "Greek" in the Principality of Bulgaria in the early twentieth century had multiple layers depending on one's education, locality, and exposure to national ideology. First of all, many Greek-educated individuals residing in the urban centers shared the belief that they were heirs of the ancient Greek colonists of the sixth and fifth centuries BCE. This conviction that they were guardians of the authentic Hellenic civilization was prevalent in the Black Sea communities, built on the sites of ancient Greek colonies, and in Plovdiv/Philippoupolis, the city named after the father of Alexander the Great. The link to the ancient heritage was strong, even though many "pure Hellenes" had settled in their communities as late as the nineteenth century, arriving from places such as Epirus, Thrace, Asia Minor, or Russia. But many Greek speakers also retained strong local allegiances and felt an affinity to the entire region from the Black Sea to the Aegean, which had once been an integral part of the Ottoman administrative unit Rumeli. These individuals perceived themselves primarily as inhabitants of the area of Thrace, large portions of which were still in the Ottoman Empire; they felt connected to the diverse Greek-speaking populations outside the Principality of Bulgaria and maintained extensive contacts with them through trade, seasonal labor migration, and marriages. Further, many cherished the memories of their extensive autonomy within Eastern Rumelia from 1878 to 1885, and wished to see a return to the times when they had more independent control over their communal affairs. Finally, while some individuals saw the Kingdom of Greece as their "great

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Borislav Denchev, *Varna sled osvobozhdenieto. Edno zakâsnialo vâzrazhdane na bâlgarshtinata* (Sofia, 1998); Konstantinos Papaioannidou, *Istoria tis en Ponto Apollonias-Sozopoleos. Apo tis idriseos tis mechri simeron* (Thessaloniki, 1933); Margaritis Konstantinidis, *I Mesemvria tou Evxinou: Istoria* (Athens, 1945); Adamandios Diamandopoulos, *I Anchialos* (Athens, 1954); Angelos Germidis, "Chamenes ellinikes esties tis Anatolikis Romilias. To Kavakli kai i periochi tou," *Thrakika* 1 (1978): 183–219; and Nevena Daskalova-Zheliaskova, *Karioti: Etnicheska prinadlezhnost i kulturno-bitovi cherti v kraia na XIX i nachaloto na XX vek* (Sofia, 1989).

29. Ivan Gradeshliev, *Gagauzite* (Dobrich, 1993); Zhenia Pimpireva, *The Karakachans in Bulgaria* (Sofia, 1998); Vania Mateeva, *Gagauzite. Oshte edin pogled* (Sofia, 2006).

motherland," they were also aware of its failure in the late nineteenth century to advance the cause of the Megali Idea. These Greeks continued their extensive relations with the "free Kingdom" through travel and education, but, like Greek communities elsewhere, they remained doubtful about the capability of politicians to transform the Greek Kingdom into the unifying center of the Greek idea. These multiple ideas of belonging inscribed the communities within the history of the broader Greek cultural tradition but at the same time separated them from the inhabitants of the Kingdom of Greece and situated them in a local Thracian and Rumelian, rather than Greek, context.[30]

There was further uncertainty regarding the degree to which national ideology had penetrated the population in the late nineteenth century. Many national activists resided in urban communities and spread the Greek national idea through their educational activities, religious affiliations, or links to Greek diplomatic circles. However, even in Plovdiv/Philippoupolis and the Black Sea communities, which were the most developed colonies, many Greek speakers, being "locals" (*ithageneis*), viewed their Greekness as a matter of cultural heritage and were indifferent to the Greek national struggles. Members of the merchant class dominated communal life and sponsored Greek-language cultural and educational activities, but such communal leaders were not necessarily brokers of the official Greek ideology. They had contacts with the Greek Kingdom but also with the Greek centers in Russia, Romania, Asia Minor, Thrace, and Europe, as well as with the upper strata of Bulgarian society. They traveled extensively, secured an excellent education for their children, adored European culture and fashion, and spoke Greek, Bulgarian, Turkish, and French. As a result, their group mentality was a mixture of loyalty to a loosely defined Greek idea, attachment to local community interests, and cosmopolitan feelings of belonging to a European bourgeois culture. But even modest individuals, despite their Greek-language education and devotion to the Patriarchate, were deeply rooted in their indigenous environments, sought to preserve their local traditions, and maintained contacts with Bulgarians through economic activities and mixed marriages.[31]

The rural population had less exposure to the national idea because of the lack of Greek-language educational institutions in isolated rural areas. The Karioti/Kariotes around Kavakli were characterized more by their syncretism than their Greekness. Because of their geographical seclusion, they had idiosyncratic traditions and social practices, spoke an unusual dialect

30. For the complex allegiances of the Greeks in Plovdiv/Philippoupolis, see Ploumidis, *Ethniki simviosi sta Valkania.*

31. About Greek elites elsewhere, see Augustinos, *The Greeks of Asia Minor;* Exertzoglou, *Ethniki tavtotita stin Konstantinoupoli;* and Anagnostopoulou, *Mikra Asia.* For the interaction between Greek and Bulgarian elites in Plovdiv/Philippoupolis, see Ploumidis, *Ethnotiki simviosi sta Valkania.* For a fictional account about the complex identities of the Greeks on the Black Sea coast, based on family history, see Jason Mavrovitis, *Remember Us* (El Verano, 2007).

that combined Bulgarian and Greek expressions, and were unaware of the national doctrines of either state. These populations were "Greek" by nature of their affiliation to the Patriarchate, but they focused on their struggle with nature and only came in touch with Greek influences during visits to the marketplace or church fairs. Even more ambiguous were the allegiances of the Gagauz and Karakachani. As Turkish-speaking Orthodox Christians, the Gagauz lagged behind in education and had no clearly developed national consciousness, but they devotedly supported their Patriarchist priests against Exarchist propaganda. The transient lifestyle of the Karakachani, a nomadic population that conversed in a mixture of Greek, Bulgarian, and Vlach, also subverted any notion of state borders and national delimitations. These two groups were forced to take sides in the national struggles of Bulgarians and Greeks only in the late nineteenth century with the expansion of the Bulgarian administration and the efforts of the Exarchate and Patriarchate to recruit them to their respective jurisdictions.

Finally, there were those who vacillated between Bulgarian and Greek allegiances. The grâkomani, or "Greek-maniacs," were individuals believed to be of Bulgarian descent, as defined by language and family ties, who supported the Patriarchate, educated their children in Greek schools, maintained Greek acquaintances, and adopted the Greek language. Often Patriarchist communities recruited family members from the poor, rural Bulgarian-speaking populations, assimilating them in their Greek-speaking cultural and religious environment. Bulgarian-speaking males accepted the dowries of prosperous brides in exchange for educating their children in the Greek language and tradition, and female servants had their marriages arranged in Greek-speaking families according to the custom of sponsorship.[32] During the nineteenth century the grâkomani became the archenemies of the Bulgarian national movement in its confrontation with the Patriarchate, because national activists saw them as "traitors" who supported the Greek cause to the detriment of Bulgarians. With the expansion of the Bulgarian administration and the spread of Bulgarian-language education after 1878, officials refused to recognize such individuals as anything but Bulgarians.[33] Nonetheless, the appeal of Hellenism had its limits within the Principality of Bulgaria, and there were also individuals of Greek descent who voluntarily assimilated within Bulgarian society. Because of economic interests, the pursuit of public service, or marriage, some residents of the principality abandoned their Greek connections while adopting the Bulgarian language and Bulgarizing their surnames.[34]

These diverse perceptions of what it meant to be Greek signified a rather fluid understating of belonging, enunciated in ethnic and cultural terms

32. Theodosios Mavrommatis, *I astiki kai agrotiki zoi tis koinonias Anchialou* (Athens, 1958); Galina Vâlchinova and Radoslava Ganeva, "Melnik mezhdu 'Bâlgarina-orach' i 'sredizemnomoretsalozar': za traĭnostta na edna etnokulturna harakteristika" *Istoricheski pregled* 2 (1997): 142–159.

33. Simeon Radev, *Ranni spomeni* (Sofia, 1967), esp. the chapter "Borbata s grâkomanite."

34. Kotzageorgi, *Oi Ellines tis Boulgarias*, 161–168, esp. n. 52.

rather than as a political project associated with a territorial nation-state. One Bulgarian Greek expressed this dilemma by stating that the Greeks in the Principality of Bulgaria passionately loved "the motherland, the One and Only, Greece, yet not [Greece] the country . . . but Greece the cause."[35] Similar to the Greeks in Asia Minor, Pontos, or Europe, the communities in Bulgaria had more interactions with other Greeks in the principality or with members of the Greek diaspora in the Ottoman Empire than with the Greek Kingdom and its official representatives. Only in the second half of the nineteenth century did the national message spread to Greek elites, gradually penetrating the rest of society. At the fin de siècle the populations that could be called the "Bulgarian Greeks" felt a part of the Greek idea and were proud of their cultural heritage, but they also distinguished themselves from the Greek Kingdom and jealously adhered to their local identity and indigenous customs, comprising a syncretic diasporic community that blended Bulgarian and Greek traditions.

The Clash of Bulgarians and Greeks in Macedonia

The dynamics of the Bulgarian-Greek encounters changed again in the early twentieth century, when the national agendas of the Kingdom of Greece and the Principality of Bulgaria clashed because of their struggle for influence in the Ottoman provinces of Macedonia and Thrace. This was particularly true for the infamous "Macedonian question," which became the litmus test for the ability of both countries to achieve their national ideals in the first half of the twentieth century.[36] As Bulgarian and Greek activists collided and violence spread in the early 1900s, the explosive situation in the Ottoman province determined the increasingly insecure situation of the Greeks in the principality who became trapped between the conflicting interests of Bulgaria and Greece.

Diverse demography created insurmountable obstacles when national movements developed in Ottoman Macedonia in the second half of the nineteenth century.[37] Despite attempts of national activists to "unmix" the loosely defined Bulgarians, Greeks, Serbs, Vlachs, Albanians, Muslims,

35. Argiris Korakas, "Anamniseis apo tin Palaia Anchialo," in *I Anchialos mes'apo tis phloges,* ed. Drakos Mavrommatis (Athens, 1930), 115.

36. The extensive literature on the Macedonian question reflects the Bulgarian, Greek, and Macedonian viewpoints. Works typical of the stance of each historiography include Konstantin Pandev, *Natsionalno-osvoboditelnoto dvizhenie v Makedoniia i Odrinsko, 1878–1903* (Sofia, 2000); Dobrin Michev, Doĭno Doĭnov, Liobomir Panaĭotov and Petâr Shapkarev, eds., *Natsionalno-osvoboditelnoto dvizhenie na makedonskite bâlgari, 1878–1944. V chetiri toma* (Sofia, 1994–2003); Manol Pandevski, *Natsionalnoto prashanie vo makedonskoto osloboditelno dvizhenie 1893–1903* (Skopje, 1974); Krste Bitolski, *Makedoniia i knezhestvo Bâlgariia (1893–1903)* (Skopje, 1977); Douglas Dakin, *The Greek Struggle in Macedonia, 1897–1913* (Thessaloniki, 1966); and Konstantinos Vakalopoulos, *I Makedonia stis paramones tou makedonikou agona (1894–1904)* (Thessaloniki, 1986).

37. Duncan Perry, *The Politics of Terror: The Macedonian Liberation Movement, 1893–1903* (Durham, 1988); Vemund Aarbakke, *Ethnic Rivalry and the Quest for Macedonia, 1870–1913* (Boulder, 2003). For the Bulgarian and Greek views, see Pandev, *Natsionalno-osvoboditelnoto dvizhenie;* Vakalopoulos, *I Makedonia stis paramones.*

Roma, and nascent Macedonians, they could not separate the inhabitants with precision. At the heart of the controversy between Bulgaria and Greece were the Bulgarian-speaking Christians, who continued to recognize the authority of the Patriarchate despite the option to switch to the Exarchate. Though previously they had been Christian Ottoman subjects, now religious choice acquired national connotations, for activists saw the followers of the Patriarchate as "Greeks" but viewed the supporters of the Exarchate as "Bulgarians." Following this national logic, the Exarchate treated the Bulgarian-speaking Patriarchists as grâkomani, or "Grecisized" (*pogârcheni*) Bulgarians, whereas the Patriarchate classified them as "Bulgarian-speaking" (*voulgarophonoi*) Greeks.

In the late nineteenth century, both the Exarchate in Istanbul and the Bulgarian governments in Sofia actively supported and funded Bulgarian-language churches, schools, and philanthropic institutions in Macedonia.[38] Activists also established political organizations, some directly funded by Sofia and others with more indigenous roots, most notably the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO), which successfully recruited the Bulgarian-speaking peasants to support its cause of autonomy for Macedonia.[39] As the appeal of the Bulgarian cause spread in Macedonia, the Bulgarian-speaking population of numerous villages and towns renounced the Patriarchate and converted to the Exarchate. But the Ottoman government distrusted the political activism of the population and tried to squash the emergence of a secessionist movement. Greek, Serbian, and Romanian national activists, also alarmed by the success of Bulgarian nationalists, intensified their propaganda aimed at securing recruits for their respective national agendas. Rampant violence, lawlessness, and corruption led to mounting international pressure that compelled the Porte to implement several political and economic reform programs in Macedonia, but they failed to solve the problems in the area. The crisis culminated in the Ilinden Uprising, organized by IMRO in the summer of 1903, which also spread to Thrace and led to extensive Ottoman reprisals against civilians.[40] Because of the scale of violence, some thirty thousand refugees fled Macedonia to Bulgaria, revealing that many in the Ottoman province looked to Sofia

38. In cooperation with the Ottoman government, the Bulgarian governments in the late nineteenth century secured additional *berats* for Exarchist dioceses in Macedonia. For philanthropic institutions in Macedonia, funded by the Exarchate, see Iliia Galev, *Zdravno-sotsialnata deĭnost na Bâlgarskata Ekzarhiia v Makedoniia i Trakiia, 1870–1913* (Sofia, 1994).

39. The External Organization in Sofia focused on the direct annexation of Macedonia to Bulgaria, while IMRO worked for the autonomy of the province. The latter's stance has caused much scholarly controversy; Bulgarian historians claim that IMRO wanted to unify Macedonia and Bulgaria following the 1885 example, whereas Macedonian scholars counter that it wished to establish a separate Macedonian state for the Macedonian nation. For a detailed analysis, see Perry, *The Politics of Terror*.

40. See ibid.; and Aarbakke, *Ethnic Rivalry*. Bulgarian and Macedonian scholars contest the nature of the Ilinden Uprising, portraying it, respectively, as a pro-Bulgarian and pro-Macedonian movement. See Brown, *The Past in Question*.

for protection.[41] To undercut Bulgarian influence in the area, the Greek government started a systematic counteroffensive by strengthening Greek schools and Patriarchist churches, but it also dispatched armed groups to fight Bulgarian activists. Clashes between fighters supporting the Bulgarian and Greek causes escalated in 1904, and, by the fall of 1905, "a reign of terror" had descended on Macedonia.[42]

As violence spread and the Ottoman authorities failed to neutralize the various bands, civilians became frequent victims of massacres conducted by Bulgarian or Greek loyalists. In this context, the population constantly changed its professed national loyalties. According to a British journalist who traveled in Macedonia between 1902 and 1904, "it is not uncommon to find fathers who are themselves officially 'Greeks,' equally proud of bringing into the world 'Greek,' 'Servian [*sic*],' Bulgarian' and 'Roumanian' children. . . . I was talking to a wealthy peasant. . . . He spoke Greek well but hardly like a native. 'Is your village Greek,' I asked him, 'or Bulgarian?' 'Well,' he replied, 'it is Bulgarian now but four years ago it was Greek.' The answer seemed to him entirely natural and commonplace."[43] Because people's identifications remained volatile, nationalists actively recruited for their causes such ambivalent individuals with malleable allegiances. Religion, yet again, became the battlefield of national struggle. "Villages will shift their allegiance from the Greek to the Bulgarian Church twice or thrice in a year—'one must watch how the wind blows,' to quote their saying."[44] The importance of coercion in such religious "conversions" was undeniable because, with the rise of each successive band, the population practically assessed the situation on the ground and joined the winning party. It is less clear, however, if violence created lasting allegiances among the population, despite nationalist brokers' assumption that the change of religion would lead to national "conversion" as well.

In their confrontation with Greek fighters, Bulgarian loyalists started charting a new image of all Greeks, collectively branding them as "traitors" that endangered the Bulgarian nation. The encounter in 1903 between a Bulgarian commander and a group of Greek-speaking villagers in Macedonia was typical of this way of thinking:

> We summoned [the peasants] around us, and I started telling them that they did not behave like patriots but like traitors, similarly to the [Greek] bishops and priests, and also to those Greeks in free Greece and all their press etc. I could see that they were upset that I called them traitors, and some even objected! "Well, then," I continued, "if

41. Veselin Traĭkov, Doĭno Doĭnov, Dimitât Mintsev, and Goritsa Stoianova, eds. *Migratsionni dvizheniia na bâlgarite, 1878–1941. Pârvi tom, 1878–1912* (Sofia, 1993), 301; Genadi Genadiev, *Bezhantsite vâv Varnensko, 1879–1908* (Varna, 1998).

42. H. N. Brailsford, *Macedonia: Its Races and Their Future* (New York, 1971), 218.

43. Ibid., 102.

44. Ibid., 167.

> you do not accept that I call you traitors, how could you call yourselves good patriots if you have not helped the [Bulgarian cause] the least?...Some call us killers of the Greek people, but that is untrue because we have never killed an innocent, real Greek, but we have only killed grâkomani who, lured by the Greek bishops, become traitors and betray us."[45]

Here the "treachery" of the Greek bishops is expanded to include all those who fell under their influence, transforming all Patriarchists and Greek speakers into the most ferocious enemy of the Bulgarian nation. Justifying the harsh treatment of the Greeks with the allegation that they were "traitors," Bulgarian activists abandoned the previous murkiness of linguistic and religious affiliations and portrayed the population in exclusively national terms, according to its perceived loyalty or disloyalty to the Bulgarian cause. The specter of grâkomani still haunted nationalists who saw these self-professed Greeks as "original" Bulgarians who had to "return" to the Bulgarian nation. But the conflict in Macedonia expanded the notion of "traitor" to all Greeks who, being loyal to the "Greek" Patriarchate and affiliated with the Greek state, became the quintessential national enemy.

As Macedonia constantly made headlines in the Balkans and throughout Europe between 1903 and 1908, the violent situation in the Ottoman province exacerbated relations between the Principality of Bulgaria and the Kingdom of Greece while it also affected the situation of the Greek residents of Bulgaria. In 1905 and 1906 the Bulgarian media widely reported massacres of Bulgarian civilians by Greek bands in Macedonia, inflaming public opinion and creating the perception of a national emergency in the country. The rhetoric and tactics of the struggle for Macedonia transferred over to Bulgaria and influenced domestic life because the national language became commonplace, provided legitimacy to individuals seeking public prominence, and served as the ultimate argument in political controversies and personal discords. Events in Macedonia fueled anti-Greek sentiment in Bulgaria, turning its Greek inhabitants into the emblem of the conflict between Bulgarians and Greeks. As a result, a population that, for twenty-five years, had cautiously avoided a direct confrontation with the Bulgarian administration was now at the epicenter of national conflict. After 1905 many Greeks of Bulgaria were compelled to choose between the national and local facets of their collective identifications, which had coexisted in the previous period but were now becoming incompatible.

45. Vasil Chekalarov, *Dnevnik* (Sofia, 2001), 254–255.

2

Between the Bulgarian State and the Greek Nation, 1900–1911

In January 1907 a Greek originally from Anhialo/Anchialos in Bulgaria, but now residing as a refugee in Athens, wrote to a Bulgarian newspaper that he had started realizing "how different we are from the people here in our faith, language, and upbringing." Depicting a situation of "false promises" and "financial and moral corruption" in Greece, he noted that the reality of life did not match the official Greek propaganda that had lured him to emigrate. Seemingly annoyed, he belittled the ancient Greek heritage, the cornerstone of Greek national pride, and expressed his frustration that "[in] stony and barren Greece, only the Parthenon and the [ancient] statues remain from the glory of old Greece and only the shepherds, grandsons of the god Pan, survive from its old inhabitants." He further provided a redefinition of what, in his mind, it meant to be Greek: "If the Greeks are like this, we are not Greeks . . . but Thracians. . . . We have been Danaides, Thracians, Slavs, Bulgarians, but we have never been Greeks. . . . We are local inhabitants of Thrace. . . . The real Hellenes are in Thrace, but the Hellenes are not Greeks." He adopted the Bulgarian vocabulary, which uses separate words to describe the ancient Hellenes (*elini*) and the contemporary Greeks (*gârtsi*), a distinction that does not exist in the Greek language, which uses the word Hellenes (*Ellines*) to describe both groups. In essence, he claimed the glory of ancient history for the Greeks who lived in the Principality of Bulgaria and had preserved the genuine Hellenic culture, while asserting that the Greeks in the Kingdom of Greece constituted "false Greeks" (*lâzhlivi gârtsi*) with no connection to the true Hellenic heritage. Following his ordeals in Greece after emigration, the author, who called himself by the Bulgarian name Popov, as well as other Bulgarian Greeks still in Athens planned to contact the "fatherly government of our native land" and return

"to the realms of our dearest fatherland," promising to become "the most loyal citizens of mother Bulgaria."[1]

Popov's identifications were multiple and unfixed, referring to a variety of historical circumstances throughout the centuries and situating the Bulgarian Greeks in a diverse, multiethnic Black Sea culture. His focus on the local allegiances of the population contradicted the Megali Idea of Greek territorial expansion and cultural assimilation while highlighting the differences between the Greeks of the diaspora and those in the Kingdom of Greece. The terms of endearment the reluctant refugee used to describe his "native land" underscored his loyalty to his country of birth, Bulgaria, and not to his presumed "national homeland," Greece. These conflicting ideas exposed the blurred link between ethnic origin and national allegiance, as well as the lack of overlap between nationality and territoriality in the early twentieth century. Even as the Bulgarian and Greek governments intensified their policies of national consolidation, and activists on both sides advanced their rhetoric of national unity, people, in the 1900s, did not see a straight line between ethnicity and nationality, nor did they equate the nation with a nation-state.

This chapter explores how, at the turn of the century, the Bulgarian Greeks were coming to terms with their status as residents of the Principality of Bulgaria while debating the nature of their commitment to the Kingdom of Greece. When relations between the two countries became strained in regards to the Ottoman province of Macedonia, the situation of the Bulgarian Greeks became insecure. In the summer of 1906 Bulgarian refugees from Macedonia orchestrated a series of anti-Greek events, which culminated in the burning of Anhialo/Anchialos, a predominantly Greek town of six thousand.[2] Together with other crises in the Balkans—such as the failed Ottoman reforms that caused unrest in Macedonia, the growing tensions that destabilized Austrian-occupied Bosnia, and the Young Turks Revolution that unsettled the Ottoman Empire in 1908—the destruction of Anhialo/Anchialos occupied international headlines for several years. The surge in nationalism in the entire Balkan Peninsula forced the Bulgarian Greek communities to make important decisions regarding their allegiances. Torn between the Bulgarian state and the Greek nation, many individuals asked themselves

1. *Kraĭ*, 5 February 1907.

2. Some works in Greek include Spiridon Sphetas, "Oi anthellinikoi diogmoi stin Anatoliki Romilia kata to etos 1906 sta plaisia tis voulgarikis kratikis politikis," *Valkanika simmeikta*, 5–6 (1993–94): 77–91; Spiridon Sphetas, *Ellino-voulgarikes taraches, 1880–1908* (Thessaloniki, 2008); Kotzageorgi, *Oi Ellines tis Voulgarias*, 63–70; Ploumidis, *Ethnotiki simviosi sta Balkania*, 303–371. Bulgarian scholars have examined the events only sporadically. See Yura Konstantinova, "The Anti-Greek Movement in Bulgaria (1906) in the Perception of the Bulgarian Political Elite: Traditional Approaches and New Ideological Trends," *Études Balkaniques* 4 (2009): 3–30; Roumen Avramov, "Anhialo, 1906: The Political Economy of an Ethnic Clash," *Études Balkaniques* 4 (2009): 31–115; and Roumen Avramov, "Anhialo, 1906: Politicheskata ikonomiia na edin etnicheski konflikt," *Kritika i humanizâm* 3 (2010): 9–90.

whether they should continue to reside in their "native land," Bulgaria, or relocate to their "motherland," Greece.

This uncertain situation of the Greeks in Bulgaria echoed the dilemma of Greek communities throughout the Ottoman Empire.[3] In the early twentieth century the Kingdom of Greece continued to have an ambiguous attitude toward its assumed co-nationals in the empire, variably intervening on their behalf before the Porte and distancing itself from local politics. Many Greeks of the diaspora had developed a sense of Greco-Ottomanism, or an allegiance to the multiethnic Ottoman Empire that promised equality to all its citizens, regardless of religion. For the cosmopolitan communities, nationality remained a matter of emotional attachment to a great idea, not a territorially bounded concept centered on a nation-state.[4] Similarly, in Bulgaria, the interests of the Greeks did not neatly correspond to the national cause promoted by the Kingdom of Greece. In the early twentieth century the Greek governments focused on territorial expansion in Ottoman Crete and Macedonia and did not consider the Bulgarian Greek population their priority. For their part, the Greeks of Bulgaria were concerned with the smooth functioning of their communities within the principality, trying to secure the availability of Greek-language education, Patriarchist priests, and philanthropic services for the population.[5] While the vision of Great Greece remained attractive to many, the Greek residents of Bulgaria remained preoccupied with local concerns and did not always follow official Greek policies.

The tradition of cultural, religious, and administrative autonomy in Greek communities began to change when the Bulgarian and Greek national agendas clashed after the crisis in Macedonia in the early 1900s. As a result of growing tensions, the relationship between the Greek population and the Bulgarian state became increasingly defined in national terms. At this point Bulgarian officials effectively transformed the Greeks into a "minority"; instead of a conglomeration of communities defined by their religion and cultural activities, bureaucrats treated the "Greeks" as a group of individuals marked by their nationality. Although authorities had previously enforced limitations on the autonomous rights of the Greek population, they had acted cautiously and according to local dynamics.[6] After a quarter of a century of nation-building, however, following 1906 officials nurtured less tolerance for the Greek communities. Nationalists considered Greek religious autonomy and local self-government remnants from Ottoman times

3. Selected works inlcude Augustinos, *The Greeks of Asia Minor;* Anagnostopoulou, *Mikra Asia;* and Exertzoglou, *Ethniki tavtotita stin Konstantinoupoli.*

4. Augustinos, *Consciousness and History;* Kechriotis, "Greek-Orthodox, Ottoman Greeks or just Greeks?"

5. Kotzageorgi, *Oi Ellines tis Voulgarias;* Ploumidis, *Ethnotiki simviosi sta Balkania.*

6. Nazârska, *Maltsinstveno-religiozna politika;* Nazârska, *Bâlgarskata dârzhava i neĭnite maltsinstva;* Vâlchinova, "Gârtsi." Greek historians maintain that the Bulgarian state has systematically persecuted all Greeks since 1878. See Kotzageorgi, *Oi Ellines tis Voulgarias.*

and thus an undesirable imperial anachronism that had to be obliterated in a nation-state; the administration therefore enforced policies intended to blend the minority within mainstream society. It was no coincidence that only two years after the anti-Greek movement, in 1908, Bulgaria declared independence from the Ottoman Empire and officially affirmed the national basis of the state.[7] After that, the successive governments implemented the even harsher nationalization of the Greek-affiliated minorities, including the Gagauz and the Karakachani. This more straightforward pattern of dealing with national crises, formulating national policies, and enforcing national interests would remain consistent, not only in Bulgaria but also in the entire Balkan Peninsula, throughout the twentieth century. Ironically Bulgarian officials dealt with the numerically smaller and fellow-Christian communities with greater zeal than they did with the Muslim populations that weathered the crisis in Macedonia but without attracting negative reactions on the same scale. In contrast, bureaucrats turned the Greeks into the main object of nationalization in the early twentieth century.[8]

The question of the Greeks in Bulgaria defied an easy solution because of the complex combination of local loyalties, communal affiliations, and national predilections in the functioning of their communities. Even as Bulgarian nationalism surged, the Greek population refused to choose its place of residence based on national factors. When deciding for or against emigration, people took into account economic conditions, social acceptance, local networks, family strategies, and emotional links to their native place. The range of behaviors was stunning; whereas some showed steadfast determination to stick to what they saw as national destiny, others adopted a flexible understanding of nationality that allowed individuals to choose their allegiances. This ambivalence was in sharp contrast to the rhetoric of national propaganda that underscored loyalty to the nation as the main requirement of each person.

Because of the inability to pin down the allegiances of the Bulgarian Greek communities, the newly defined "minority" created complex problems for the national agendas of Bulgaria and Greece. Officials constantly tested various policies related to the idiosyncratic population. Both administrations realized that national stakes had to be addressed in harmony with other, more trivial aspects of everyday life, which the population deemed more important than the murky promises of national glory. This chapter details the precarious position of the Bulgarian Greeks between the Bulgarian state and the Greek nation, and analyzes how, when facing the possibility of

7. Pundeff, "Bulgarian Nationalism"; Crampton, *Bulgaria,* 174–179.

8. For the Muslim minorities, see Ali Eminov, *Turkish and Other Muslim Minorities of Bulgaria* (New York, 1997); R. J. Crampton, "The Turks in Bulgaria, 1878–1944," *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 4 (1989): 43–78; Tsvetana Georgieva, "Pomatsi—bâlgari miusiulmani" and Antonina Zheliazkova, "Turtsi," in Krâsteva, *Obshtnosti i identichnosti v Bâlgariia,* 286–308, 371–398. For other minorities, see Gradeshliev, *Gagauzite;* Mateeva, *Gagauzite;* and Pimpireva, *The Karakachans.*

emigration, people juggled conflicting notions of home, homeland, nationality, and community.

The Anti-Greek Movement of 1906

The clash between Bulgarian and Greek national activists in Macedonia made life for the Greeks in Bulgaria insecure in the early 1900s. In 1905 and 1906 turmoil in Ottoman Macedonia triggered violent events in Bulgaria followed by harsh responses in Greece, revealing that national struggles in the entire Balkan Peninsula were intricately interrelated. During these years many residents of Bulgaria came together to express their outrage at events in Macedonia, showing that national crises worked as an efficient means of mobilizing the broad masses. But popular mobilization allowed extremists to dominate the national scene and impose their uncompromising message on the rest of the population that did not share their radical visions and violent methods. In particular, the numerous refugees that had arrived in Bulgaria from Macedonia after the 1903 Ilinden Uprising became a major factor in public life.[9] Nationalist leaders successfully exploited the mind-set of these social outcasts, transforming their socioeconomic dissatisfaction into a fierce nationalist animosity. The new residents of the principality believed that the Greeks in Bulgaria shared responsibility for the actions of Greek bands in Macedonia, so refugee leaders felt entitled to use the same tactics against the Greeks that had been used against them in Macedonia. Even while the government of Prime Minister Racho Petrov urged restraint and condemned violence against its citizens, nationalists constantly raised the question of the Greeks' status and decried the perceived privileges that they enjoyed in Bulgaria. This tension between radicalized refugees who demanded harsh measures to be taken against the Greeks and cautious Bulgarian officials who feared the international repercussions of violence remained a constant in the evolution of national crises in Bulgaria for the rest of the twentieth century.

It was indicative of the dynamics of national conflict that massacres of Bulgarian civilians in Macedonia carried out by Greek national activists resulted in violence against Greek civilians in Bulgaria orchestrated by Bulgarian national activists. Trouble for the Greeks started in early 1905, when Bulgarian authorities confiscated propaganda materials supporting the Greek operations in Macedonia and discovered weapons destined for the Ottoman province in Greek homes and diplomatic buildings. These findings ignited nationalists who maintained that the Greeks were hostile to their own native land.[10] Bulgarian fury exploded after 25 March when Greek fighters, dispatched from Athens, slaughtered seventy-eight Bulgarian civilians

9. For the refugees, see Genadiev, *Bezhantsite vâv Varnensko*.

10. *Akropolis*, 25 March 1905; TsDA, f. 176k, op. 21, a.e. 1921, l. 2. Burgas District Chief to MVRI, 2 March 1905.

in the village of Zagorichane/Zagoritsani (today Vasiliada), which was a stronghold of the Exarchate and the Bulgarian movement in Macedonia.[11] Throughout April, rallies occurred in various cities in the Principality of Bulgaria to protest official Greek policies in the Ottoman province. The demonstrators were exclusively refugees from Macedonia who condemned Greek violence, offered financial assistance to the victims, urged boycotts against the Greeks, and threatened the dissolution of the Greek communities in Bulgaria. They portrayed their actions as a continuation of the Bulgarian struggle for Macedonia, depicting all Greeks, regardless of residence, as the ultimate enemy of the Bulgarian nation.[12] Because Macedonia occupied the center of the Bulgarian national imagination in the 1900s, officials only reluctantly suppressed their actions, allowing unrest to continue for several weeks.[13]

New Greek massacres of Bulgarians in Macedonia in 1906 led to a repetition of anti-Greek violence in the Principality of Bulgaria but on a larger scale. Bulgarians referred to the events of 1906 as the "anti-Greek movement" (*anti-grâtskoto dvizhenie*), demonstrating that violence in Macedonia fostered solidarity among disparate social groups in Bulgaria. Refugees from Macedonia took center stage again, portraying the prosperous Greek inhabitants as social parasites that assisted Greek policies in the Ottoman province and silencing dissenting voices among their co-nationals who condemned Greek policies in Macedonia but had no issue with the Greeks in Bulgaria. Initially the government of Racho Petrov avoided intervening in the crisis, because it believed that crowd dynamics benefited its own agenda by showing the solidarity of the Bulgarian nation on the issue of Macedonia. But officials soon realized that they had little power to control the popular movement, which started with sincere expressions of solidarity with the misfortunes in Macedonia but fell into the hands of extremists and radicalized in a way few people expected or endorsed.

The contentious religious dispute between Bulgarians and Greeks was at the core of this conflict because, with the exacerbation of tensions in Macedonia, the Patriarchate had become the Bulgarian archenemy. The 1906 carnage of Bulgarians in Macedonia coincided with the appointment in Bulgaria of the new Patriarchist bishop of Varna, Constantine, who was notorious because of his previous anti-Bulgarian activities in Macedonia.[14] Following protests in the streets of Varna, in June the Petrov administration refused to confirm Constantine as the next bishop of Varna. The Patriarchate then elected a new bishop, Neophitos, but angry crowds gathered in the

11. Hristo Silianov, *Osvoboditelnite borbi na Makedoniia* (Sofia, 1983), 208–209. Bulgarian newspapers provided the figure of two hundred casualties. See *Mir,* 7 April 1905.

12. Rallies occurred in Varna, Plovdiv/Philippoupolis, Anhialo/Anchialos, Sofia, Borisovgrad (today Pârvomaĭ), Stanimaka/Stenimachos, Tatar Pazardzhik, Târnovo, and Elena. *Mir,* 7, 12, and 21 April 1905; *Akropolis,* 15, 20, and 22 April 1905; *Esperini,* 18 April 1905.

13. *Akropolis,* 28 April 1905.

14. For massacres in Bulgarian villages, see Silianov, *Osvoboditelnite borbi,* 219–234.

port of Varna and forced his ship to return to Istanbul. The Patriarchate persisted, sending its representative back to Varna despite Bulgarian warnings to delay his dispatch until public opinion subsided.[15] It was bishop Neophitos's second debarkation attempt that started an explosive chain of events that culminated in the anti-Greek movement.

On 3 July, as several hundred Bulgarians prepared to oppose the second arrival of Neophitos in Varna, youngsters ridiculed the bishop by decorating a donkey with Greek ecclesiastical insignia. Refugees took control, turning the protest against the loathed Patriarchist appointee into a rally against Greek atrocities in Macedonia. On 4 July the crowd expropriated the St. Nicholas Greek Church and the Greek communal hospital, and replaced all Patriarchist priests with members of the Bulgarian clergy.[16] The participants called their actions a "people's revolution" aimed at transforming the church and hospital into "institutions for the use of the entire people." On 5 July the protesters composed a resolution that condemned the "depravity of the Greek nation" and demanded sanctions against the Greeks in Bulgaria.[17] They proclaimed Bulgarian to be the only language of public use in Varna and conducted a Bulgarian-language service in the Greek church to celebrate the "patriotic act" of expropriating the building.[18] The newly minted organization Bâlgarski rodoliubets (Bulgarian Patriot), consisting of refugees from Macedonia, became the main instigator of anti-Greek sentiment.[19] In mid-July, anti-Greek rallies orchestrated by refugees burgeoned in Greek communities on the Black Sea coast, and their outcome ranged from the expropriation of Greek churches and schools in Kavarna and Balchik to the north of Varna to pogroms against private and communal property in the port of Burgas/Pirgos to the south.[20]

On 16 July Bulgarian activists, mostly refugees who had descended from various places throughout Bulgaria, organized an anti-Greek rally in Plovdiv/Philippoupolis in central Bulgaria that attracted an estimated ten thousand participants. The event started with the denunciation of Greek policies in Macedonia but ended with rampant pogroms and abuses against the Greeks in this center of Greek commercial and cultural life. The crowd plundered Greek businesses, expropriated all five Greek churches including the St. Marina Cathedral, and looted the buildings of the Greek Club, the famous Marazli Lyceum, and the Greek female school. Protesters attacked policemen who tried to restrain the gathering, and the confrontations led to

15. TsDA, f. 322k, op. 1, a.e. 165, l. 1. Memo of Racho Petrov, 20 June 1906; TsDA, f. 322k, op. 1, a.e. 161, ll. 54–56b. MVRI to BLA, 11 July 1906.

16. TsDA, f. 322k, op. 1, a.e. 161, ll. 63–63b; TsDA, f. 322k, op. 1, a.e. 165, l. 4. Telegrams of the Varna District Chief, 5 June; 4 and 5 July 1906.

17. *Den,* 5, 6, and 11 July 1906.

18. *Mir,* 5 July 1906; *Nov vek,* 7 July 1906; *Akropolis,* 6, 10, 14, and 23 July 1906.

19. TsDA, f. 322k, op. 1, a.e. 165, ll. 9–11. The Varna District Chief, 24, 27, and 29 September 1906; Memos of Interior Minister Dimitâr Petkov, 24 and 29 September; 3 October 1906.

20. TsDA, f. 322k, op. 1, a.e. 161, ll. 47–51b. MVRI to BLA, 22 July 1906.

Figure 1. *Bulgarian refugees mock the newly elected Patriarchist bishop of Varna by dressing a donkey in ecclesiastical insignia and referring to the bishop as "Mitropolitis 'Gaiduris' (Bishop Donkey)." The card reads: "The celebratory greeting of the Greek bishop Neophitos with effendi Ioannis in Varna, 3 July 1906." Aristidis Papadatis,* Anatoliki Romilia *(Athens: Sillogos pros diadosin ton ellinikon grammaton, 1945), 52.*

the death of two people, one Bulgarian and one Greek.[21] The increasingly influential Bâlgarski rodoliubets disseminated printed materials that prohibited the use of the Greek language and urged all Bulgarians to boycott Greek merchandise. Bulgarian priests conducted sermons in the newly seized churches and, in their orations, honored the casualties of the 1903 Ilinden Uprising, linking the anti-Greek rallies to the Bulgarian cause in Macedonia.[22] The mob then dispersed to the nearby Tatar Pazardzhik, Peshtera/Peristera, Voden/Vodena, and Kuklen/Kouklaina, seizing Greek churches and monasteries there. The same day, after a telegram arrived in Burgas/Pirgos detailing events in Plovdiv/Philippoupolis, a crowd comprised of refugees seized the church and schools of the Greek community. On 22 July activists in Stanimaka/Stenimachos threatened to expropriate the Greek churches and schools, looted stores, and destroyed the Greek library. The following day a rally in the capital Sofia attracted some twenty

21. Ibid.; *Den,* 16 July 1906; *Akropolis,* 18 July 1906.
22. *Den,* 16 and 20 July 1906.

thousand participants but proceeded without major disturbances.[23] Yet matters did not evolve peacefully elsewhere. Protesters in the city of Iambol sacked Greek stores unleashing a "flood of wine and brandy"; activists in the village of Ak Bunar (today General Inzovo) advised the inhabitants to hand over their church and school; and a mob in the Danube port of Russe looted Greek businesses. By late July a violent anti-Greek movement had evolved on a national scale.[24]

The instigators of the anti-Greek events, supported by Exarchist priests, renamed churches and schools, symbolically erasing Greek prominence in Bulgarian public life. When demonstrators in Varna seized the St. Nicholas Greek Church, they chose the name of the Bulgarian national saints St. Cyril and Methodius, the ninth-century Byzantine scholars who compiled the Cyrillic alphabet. The crowd replaced Greek inscriptions with Bulgarian ones and destroyed the Greek ecclesiastical books discovered in the building.[25] In Burgas/Pirgos activists renamed the Greek church St. Transfiguration to honor the 1903 Ilinden Uprising that had commenced during this Christian holiday, and they gave the former Greek school the name Han Krum, the ninth-century Bulgarian ruler who beheaded the Byzantine emperor Nikiphoros I.[26] In Plovdiv/Philippoupolis the protesters renamed all five Greek churches to commemorate Bulgarian historical events and figures, erased Greek inscriptions on church icons replacing them with Bulgarian ones, and burnt or tore Greek ecclesiastical manuals. They sacked the building of the Greek press and dispersed the Greek letters throughout the town.[27] After the expropriation of the Greek monastery in Kuklen/Kouklaina, activists discovered hidden Slavic inscriptions and neglected Old Church Slavonic books that Greek priests had allegedly concealed.[28] Campaigners in Stanimaka/Stenimachos sought to rename the city Asenovgrad to commemorate the medieval Bulgarian King Asen whose fortress stood on a nearby hill.[29] Other proposals included the renaming of

23. *Mouvement antihellénique en Bulgarie et en Roumélie Orientale. Extraits des rapports des autorités consulaires hellénique, Juillet–Août 1906* (Athens, 1906), 5; A. R., *Persécutions des Grecs en Bulgarie* (Athens, 1906), 21; *Nov vek,* 24 July 1906; *Den,* 22 and 24 July 1906; *Akropolis,* 25 July 1906.

24. Other rallies occurred in Mezdra, Aĭtos/Aetos, Karnobat, Ihtiman, Tas Tepe (today Chukarka), and Nova Zagora. See *Den,* 28, 30, and 31 July; 1 August 1906.

25. *Mir,* 5 July 1906; *Nov vek,* 7 July 1906; *Den,* 8 July 1906.

26. *Den,* 17 and 22 July 1906. Han Krum was a Bulgarian medieval ruler who in the early ninth century defeated Byzantium in battle and celebrated his victory drinking from a chalice made out of the head of Emperor Nikophoros I. Bulgarian nationalists often used this episode as an example of what would happen to all Greeks who acted as enemies of Bulgaria.

27. St. Charalambos became St. Iliia to observe the Ilinden Uprising; St. Constantine was renamed to honor the last fourteenth-century Bulgarian Patriarch, St. Evtimiĭ; St. Marina turned into St. Boris, the ninth-century ruler who had baptized the pagan Bulgarians; St. Dimitris changed to St. Alexander Nevski, paying tribute to the Russian Army that had liberated Bulgaria from Ottoman rule; and St. Paraskevi became St. Peter and Paul. See *Den,* 16 and 20 July 1906. These changes did not last long. See Nikola Alvadzhiev, *Plovdivska hronika* (Plovdiv, 1984), 83–84.

28. *Den,* 29 July and 11 August 1906.

29. Ibid., 24 July 1906.

Anhialo/Anchialos, Mesemvria, and Kavakli (today Topolovgrad) as, respectively, Simeonovgrad, Kaloianovgrad, and Samuilovgrad, all honoring medieval Bulgarian rulers.[30]

Bâlgarski rodoliubets became prominent in the events, and the charismatic ability of its leader, Petâr Dragulev, to recruit disenchanted refugees transformed the organization into an important, though ephemeral, factor in Bulgarian public life. There was a shared sense of indignation in Bulgarian society about violence in Macedonia, and ordinary people spontaneously participated in the anti-Greek rallies that expressed solidarity with the plight of the Bulgarians in the Ottoman Empire. But most demonstrators did not partake in the more extreme actions that accompanied the events.[31] The nucleus of the radical anti-Greek movement was Bâlgarski rodoliubets, whose followers toured the country expressing their outrage toward Greece, instigated violent incidents against Greek property and communal leaders, and composed resolutions that called for the termination of diplomatic relations with Greece, the boycott of Greek merchandise, and limitations on the Greeks. Its leaders planned a national convention in Plovdiv/Philippoupolis on 6 August and recruited refugee representatives from all over Bulgaria to protest Greek policies in Macedonia.[32] The Petrov government failed to disband the group early in the protests, because it did not expect that the organization would recruit such a militant following. As events grew more radical, officials became frustrated with their lack of foresight in dealing with the extremists in the early stages of the movement.[33] The evolution of the organization is suggestive of how extreme nationalist groups imposed their violent tactics on the rest of the population. Despite the general reluctance to participate in excessive actions, Bulgarians did not dispute these actions and thus allowed extreme nationalist leaders to set the agenda in public life.

On 30 July members of Bâlgarski rodoliubets marched from Burgas/Pirgos to Anhialo/Anchialos in order to stage an anti-Greek rally in this town comprised mainly of Greeks. Local Greeks, headed by the Patriarchist bishop Vasilios, gathered in the St. George Monastery to organize a resistance movement.[34] As the refugees arrived the Greek activists armed themselves, and so when the demonstrators stormed the monastery, shots were exchanged between Bulgarians and Greeks. Violence spilled over into the town where the Greeks sought refuge, and, under unclear circumstances,

30. A. R., *Persécutions des Grecs en Bulgarie,* 36–37.

31. The newspaper *Mir* was particularly critical of violence orchestrated by Bâlgarski rodoliubets. For the varied responses of the Bulgarian political elites, see Konstantinova, "The Anti-Greek Movement in Bulgaria."

32. *Den,* 24, 26 and 28 July 1906; Pavel Deliradev, *Antigrâtskoto dvizhenie: S istoricheski ocherk na bâlgaro-grâtskite otnosheniia* (Sofia, 1906). See also the Varna newspaper *Narodna zvezda* that changed its name to *Bâlgarski rodoliubets* in July 1906.

33. TsDA, f. 322k, op. 1, a.e. 165, l. 9. The Varna District Chief, 24, 27 and 29 September 1906. The anger of the Interior Minister Petkov is evident ibid., ll. 10–11.

34. *Akropolis,* 25 July 1906; *Kraĭ,* 22 July 1906.

Figure 2. *Rubble surrounding the burned Greek school and the Church of the Lady (Panagia) in Anhialo/Anchialos after the fire of 30 July 1906. A. R.,* Persécutions des Grecs en Bulgarie *(Athens: Sakellarios, 1906), 28. Reproduced by permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.*

the city was set on fire. A significant part of the Greek neighborhood, including homes, stores, depots, and communal buildings, perished in the blaze, together with the imposing Church of the Lady (Panagia), the Turkish mosque, and offices of the Bulgarian administration.[35] The Petrov government dispatched troops to extinguish the fire and prevent further violence, but some fourteen people had been killed (ten Greeks and four Bulgarians), and an estimated thirty people were injured. Almost the entire town had burned down; of the 733 homes that were destroyed, 707 were Greek, 15 were Bulgarian, and 11 were Turkish, a figure that supports Greek accusations that Bâlgarski rodoliubets played a role in setting the blaze.[36] The

35. *Akropolis,* 1 August 1906; *Den,* 2 August 1906; *Nov vek,* 4 and 7 August 1906. See also A. R., *Persécutions des Grecs en Bulgarie; Polozhenieto na gârtsite v Bâlgariia. Otgovor na memoara na Tsarigradskiia patriarh ot 14 avgust 1906 do poslanitsite na Velikite dârzhavi v Tsarigrad* (Sofia, 1906); Association patriotique des Thraces a Athenes, *Persécutions des Grecs en Bulgarie et en Roumélie Orientale—Appel aux Grandes Puissances et aux peoples de l'Europe et de l'Amerique* (Athens, 1906).

36. For the statistics, see TsDA, f. 166k, op. 1, a.e. 1012, l. 37. Burgas District Chief to MVRI, September 1906; A. R., *Persécutions des Grecs en Bulgarie,* 27; *Polozhenieto na gârtsite v Bâlgariia,* 5.

same day the Greeks in Mesemvria, who could see the smoke coming from Anhialo/Anchialos, signed a petition ceding their churches to the Exarchate. In the following week anti-Greek events involving the expropriation of schools and churches spread to the remote Kavakli area.[37]

A notable change occurred in Bulgarian popular attitude toward the anti-Greek movement throughout July, which paralleled its radicalization. In the beginning the entire press supported these spontaneous manifestations of Bulgarian patriotism. When the newspaper of the governing People's Liberal Party declared, "Emotions, deep wounds, and vibrant passions have only one place of expression—the rally in the square," the rest of the liberal opposition joined in: "Bulgarian patriots, follow this example!"[38] By mid-July, and especially after the indiscriminate looting in Plovdiv/Philippoupolis, many journalists criticized the actions of "criminal elements" that did not respect the private property and physical integrity of Bulgarian citizens. The Petrov government declared that "nobody has any reason to degenerate into violence that could compromise our cause," while the opposition denounced the movement as "a real revolution against the Greeks, the army, and the Bulgarian nation."[39] With the burning of Anhialo/Anchialos, indignation became widespread: "We did not meet one Bulgarian in the street who approved of this violence. . . . We are deafened by the coarse voices of 'patriots' . . . [who] used the pure, sacred popular indignation against Greek violence in Macedonia to throw in the mud and rape the real, sacred demonstrations of the people."[40] These authors were disturbed by the behavior of uncontrollable extremists who imposed their violent methods on the anti-Greek rallies and tarnished the international image of the country with their misdirected fanaticism and arbitrary aggression. Because of fears that the extremism of Bâlgarski rodoliubets could jeopardize the cause in Macedonia, after the Anhialo/Anchialos blaze the Petrov government, now determined to curb further violence, finally apprehended some refugees suspected of criminal acts.[41]

The press in Greece responded critically to events in Bulgaria from the start, voicing resentment for the "excesses" (*orgia*) in the squares and expressing support for their compatriots in danger. Journalists often formulated disapproval in moral and cultural terms: "This vandalism in Bulgaria shows hubris toward civilization and is the disgrace of our times. . . . These barbarous acts . . . would never occur under the Acropolis and the Olympic temple."[42] As disorder and violence spread, indignation was ubiquitous: "Europe should take responsibility and stop the frenzy, bestiality, and

37. Episkopos Eirinoupoleos Photios, *Episima engrapha,* 417–418.
38. *Nov vek,* 17 July 1906; *Den,* 11 July 1906.
39. *Nov vek,* 21 July 1906; *Den,* 16 July 1906.
40. *Den,* 2 August 1906.
41. *Nov vek,* 29 September 1906.
42. *Akropolis,* 11 July 1906.

savagery of the Bulgarian government and the Bulgarian people's soul."[43] After the burning of Anhialo/Anchialos, the authorities declared 1 August to be a day of mourning in Athens. During that day church bells rang, stores remained closed, and theaters canceled their performances.[44] Despite sincere expressions of solidarity with the victims, extremist nationalist leaders, like their counterparts in Bulgaria, used the events for their own purposes. A prominent figure behind the rallies, petitions, and publications was Neoklis Kazazis and his ultra-nationalistic organization, Ellinismos, which, like Balgarski rodoliubets, did not have a mass character but functioned as a forceful pressure group in times of national fervor.[45]

Despite the strong anti-Bulgarian rhetoric, Greek journalists directed their criticism against the incompetent handling of the situation by the Georgios Theotokis government of the Modernist Party, which had failed to fulfill its promise of reform: "We do not have public order, police, justice, education, or a good, national, effective government. Is this the state that the Bulgarians should respect?... The [Bulgarians] are barbarians, but they have an army. Their politicians are criminals, but they have politics. They are savage in their patriotism, but they have patriotism. How about us? We do not even have the latter."[46] The participants in the rallies in Athens sympathized with the victims of Anhialo/Anchialos but also denounced the ineptitude of Greek officials in handling the crisis. Journalists proposed changes in fiscal policies, reform in the military, improvements in the bureaucracy, and diplomatic efforts to overcome the international isolation of the Greek state. In these opinions only a "peaceful revolution" and purges of all "internal enemies" could end the rampant corruption of state officials who did not serve the Greek people.[47]

The governments of Petrov and Theotokis prepared to deal with the international resonance generated by the Anhialo/Anchialos fire. Greek diplomats took advantage of the favorable public opinion abroad and requested international guarantees for the Greeks and the return of all seized properties.[48] They published printed materials in Europe, emphasizing that the expropriation of Greek communal properties represented an abrogation of the 1878 Berlin Treaty and denouncing the Petrov government's alleged plan for the systematic destruction of Greek communal life in Bulgaria. Greek supporters also raised the issue of Macedonia; representatives of the Greek

43. Ibid., 18 July 1906.

44. Ibid., 2 and 3 August 1906; TsDA, f. 166k, op. 1. a.e 1010, l. 120. BLA to MVRI, 2 August 1906.

45. For Kazazis, see Georgios Kokkinos, *O politikos anorthologismos stin Ellada. To ergo kai i skepsi tou Neokli Kazazi (1849–1936)* (Athens, 1997), 27. For his views of the Bulgarians, whom he saw as racially inferior, see Neoklis Kazazis, *Voulgaroi kai Ellines kata ton 19 and 20 aiona* (Athens, 1908).

46. *Akropolis*, 2 August 1906.

47. See the dispatches of *Akropolis* in early August 1906 under the title "The People's Voice (*I gnomi tou laou*)."

48. TsDA, f. 166k, op. 1, a.e. 1010, ll. 233–235. Legation in Rome to MVRI, 25 August 1906.

Kingdom defied Bulgarian claims over the territory, while leaders of the Patriarchate furnished historical arguments to establish Greek rights in the province.[49] In contrast, Bulgarian officials placed the blame for the Anhialo/Anchialos tragedy on Greek extremists. Diplomats linked the anti-Greek rallies to the situation in Macedonia, highlighting the provocative behavior of Greek bands and the repressive role of the Patriarchate in the province, and emphasizing the indignation of the Bulgarian people over the massacres of their compatriots.[50] Politicians defended the constitutional right to assemble in Bulgaria and insisted that "troublesome elements," not the government, were behind the violence. To neutralize international criticism, the Petrov administration started an investigation into the cause of the fire, arrested suspected provocateurs, and provided financial assistance, temporary lodging, food, and clothes to the victims in Anhialo/Anchialos.[51] But European diplomats rigorously criticized the government for the raging violence in Bulgaria and the tragic blaze in Anhialo/Anchialos, often comparing the events to anti-Semitic pogroms in Russia. They urged Bulgarian politicians to guarantee the freedom of the Greeks and to return all communal properties that had been seized during the anti-Greek movement. Overall, most European governments reprimanded the Petrov administration for its failure to respond to the crisis adequately.[52]

After the fire it was clear that both countries had to act decisively, as the Anhialo/Anchialos inferno had become emblematic of the exacerbated national problems in the Balkans. As the Bulgarian Greeks' plight became international headlines, both administrations sought to inscribe the issue into their larger national agendas and gain advantages from the attention given to Balkan politics. Public opinion at home and diplomatic pressures abroad forced the Theotokis and Petrov governments to take resolute actions regarding a population that they had previously viewed as unimportant. An incident that had begun by dressing a donkey in a cassock ended with profound repercussions. The two administrations involved were now compelled to redefine major issues of national importance relating to the treatment of minorities within their borders and populations in the diaspora.

Flight and Reception in Greece

An immediate consequence of the anti-Greek movement was the flight of a significant number of Greeks from Bulgaria and their resettlement in Greece,

49. Patriarchat Oecuménique, *Memorandums; Mouvement antihellénique;* A. R, *Persécutions des Grecs en Bulgarie.*

50. *Polozhenieto na gârtsite v Bâlgariia;* TsDA, f. 322k, op. 1, a.e. 161, ll. 47–51b. MVRI to BLA, 22 July 1906.

51. *Polozhenieto na gârtsite v Bâlgariia,* 5.

52. TsDA, f. 166k, op. 1, a.e. 1010, ll. 80–80a, 97–100, 75–78. The Legations in Berlin, Rome, Vienna, and Paris to MVRI, 3, 4, 5 and 17 August 1906; TsDA, f. 166k, op. 1, a.e. 1012, ll. 107–108. Legation in Vienna to MVRI, 30 August 1906.

Romania, the Ottoman Empire, Europe, and the United States. An estimated twenty thousand, or one-quarter of all Greeks, left Bulgaria after the turbulent summer of 1906.[53] This migration wave, despite the relatively small number of people involved, inaugurated a new way of thinking in Greece toward the "national brethren" living abroad. In contrast to previous Greek policies that had urged such "compatriots" to stay in their native places to justify diplomatic intervention on their behalf, the Theotokis government encouraged and directed the refugee movement from Bulgaria. But this decision presented a major challenge to Greek society, as it tested its ability to become the center of the Greek nation. Since independence in 1830, Greek politicians had sought to unify the territory of the Greek Kingdom with the "outside" Greeks scattered throughout the Ottoman Empire and the other Balkan countries. In the nineteenth century, tensions had emerged between the "autochthones" in the Greek state and the "heterochthons" of the Greek diaspora, which revealed conflicting understandings of national priorities.[54] Trying to show its support for the "compatriots" abroad, in 1906 the Theotokis administration encouraged the Bulgarian Greeks to relocate to the "Great Motherland," hoping to bring together the nation-state and the national community. But this ambitious agenda clashed with the reality of life in early-twentieth-century Greece, which experienced profound political crises and socioeconomic tensions that undercut the kingdom's claims of national legitimacy.

The emigration of the Greeks started after the looting in Plovdiv/Philippoupolis on 16 July and initially involved affluent individuals who sought safety in neighboring Greek communities such as Konstantsa in Romania (Constanţa in Romanian) or Istanbul and Edirne in the Ottoman Empire. After the fire in Anhialo/Anchialos on 30 July, however, the flight from Bulgaria acquired a mass character. The Theotokis government sent vessels to assist in transporting the Greeks out of Bulgaria and issued passports to those who did not possess the appropriate papers.[55] In Anhialo/Anchialos, economic decline after the fire compelled many to relocate despite the fact that the Bulgarian government invested heavily in rebuilding the city.[56] Not all Greeks emigrated immediately; some preferred to collect their harvest and sell their properties before departing so that they could

53. Vâlchinova, "Gârci," 209; Kotzageorgi, *Oi Ellines tis Voulgarias*, 229. The Office for Refugee Relief figures point to 26,388 refugees, but this number includes those from Romania and the Caucuses and, as it was compiled in 1909, did not account for those who eventually returned to Bulgaria. See *I en Elladi perithalpsis ton prosphigon ex Anatolikis Romilias kai Voulgarias to 1906, 1907 kai 1908* (Athens, 1909), 24.

54. John Petropulos, *Politics and Statecraft in the Kingdom of Greece, 1833–1843* (Princeton, 1968); Skopetea, *To "Protipo Vasileio";* Giannis N. Gianoulopoulos, *"I evgenis mas tiphlosis." Exoteriki politiki kai "ethnika themata" apo tin itta tou 1897 eos ti Mikrasiatiki katastrophi* (Athens, 1999).

55. See the coverage in *Den, Nov vek,* and *Akropolis* from July and August 1906. Many departed for Asia Minor and Egypt and never reached Greece. See TsDA, f. 322k, op. 1. a.e. 192, l. 18. Burgas District Chief to MVRI, 9 October 1906.

56. TsDA, f. 322k, op. 1, a.e. 169, ll. 54–56. BLA toMVRI, 27 May 1907.

cover the financial cost of starting a new life.[57] Residents of Stanimaka/Stenimachos elected a special committee to coordinate their departure and seek land for the establishment of a new community in Greece. In the Kavakli area economic difficulties and Bulgarian pressures compelled many to cross the border illegally. In the summer of 1907, at least six Greeks were killed in border incidents involving individuals fleeing to Greece without passports or trying to defect from the Bulgarian Army.[58] From August 1906 to May 1910 an estimated 657 families left Plovdiv/Philippoupolis, 963 abandoned the Stanimaka/Stenimachos area, 1,482 fled Kavakli and the neighboring towns, and 4,000 departed from the Varna and Burgas/Pirgos regions.[59] Fears for their physical safety and economic considerations, coupled with peer pressure in the aftermath of violence, motivated many Greeks to relocate. Still a split emerged in the population, because even affluent persons and community leaders did not emigrate en masse, demonstrating that personal circumstances dictated the choice of each individual or family.

Emigration served important propaganda purposes because it led to heated exchanges, domestically and internationally, related to the preparedness of each country to advance and defend its national interests. Officials in the Theotokis administration encouraged the large-scale emigration of the minority, maintaining that Bulgarian pressures on Greek autonomy—and, in particular, the compulsory Bulgarian-language instruction in primary schools—forced the Greeks to resettle in order to preserve their nationality. Representatives of the Petrov government, wanting to curb the Greek emigration that could hurt their country's international reputation, exposed the actions of Greek agents who promised land and financial assistance to all potential immigrants.[60] A "journalistic war" in the media accompanied official propaganda, often linking the policies regarding the Greeks in Bulgaria to the situation in Macedonia.[61] The flight of the population became a poignant political issue, because it was linked to the ability of the two countries to protect their co-nationals abroad and serve their citizens within, a central matter for both the Greek and Bulgarian states.

The Athens government launched programs to accommodate the refugees without delay. Within days of the Anhialo/Anchialos fire, dignitaries in Greece established a Central Commission to coordinate relief as soon as the vessels transporting refugees reached Piraeus. After identity verification,

57. *Kraĭ*, 2 September 1906. By September 1906 six hundred families had left Anhialo/Anchialos.

58. IAIE, 1907, 3.1.1. EPPh to IE, 6 March 1907; Consulate in Edirne to IE, 29 May and 19 June 1907; Embassy in London to IE, 6 June 1907.

59. TsDA, f. 166k, op. 1, a.e. 1013, l. 164a. Greek statistics for the emigration between 16 August 1906 and 11 May 1910. These figures do not take into account returns after mid-1910.

60. TsDA, f. 322k, op. 1. a.e 169, ll. 138, 43, 151, 57–58, 4–5, 65–68, 156–157. Confidential circular of MVRNZ, 21 December 1906; Telegrams of the Burgas District Chief, 6 May 1907; Memo of MVRI, 22 May 1907; BLA to MVRI, 19 May 1907; BLA to MVRI, 20 December 1907.

61. IAIE, 1907, 3.1.1. EPS to IE, 22 February 1907.

vaccination, and official registration, each person received free housing, food, medical care, education, and a monthly allowance. Public donations provided financial support while the newly established Office for Refugee Relief (ORR), under the supervision of Ilias Liakopoulos, oversaw refugee admission and assistance.[62] The Theotokis government granted Greek citizenship to all refugees and promised to secure land in Thessaly, the northernmost territory that Greece had acquired in 1881, for their permanent settlement.[63] Throughout 1907 and 1908, to accommodate the newcomers, the ORR rented some one thousand buildings in Athens, sent other refugees to nearby islands or towns, and set up various services for the new citizens, including a hospital, grocery stores, clothing distribution centers, schools, and children's canteens.[64]

Taking into account various proposals discussed by Parliament and advanced in the press, the Theotokis government decided to reestablish Anhialo/Anchialos as a separate town in Greece and to secure land for other refugees in the close vicinity.[65] The administration bought private land estates and conceded national lands for the refugees' settlement in Thessaly while also allocating funds for home credits. In April 1907 the government announced the establishment of two settlements, both on the Aegean coast near Almiros in Thessaly; Nea Anchialos would be exclusively for the Anhialo/Anchialos refugees, and Evxeinoupolis would house those arriving from other parts of Bulgaria (see map 1).[66] Other refugees would receive plots on the mainland near Volos and Larissa and establish Neai Kariai and Nea Philippoupolis.[67]

But the continuous migratory flow caused difficulties in accommodating the newcomers. Beginning on 1 August 1907, as the number of refugees reached nineteen thousand with more preparing to arrive at the end of the agricultural season, the ORR decided to withhold refugee status and financial assistance to new arrivals; instead, it urged the newcomers to settle independently.[68] Greek diplomats in Bulgaria, who had previously encouraged

62. *I en Elladi perithalpsis ton prosphigon*, 4–6, 10–11, 32–33; and GLA, ASD, 186.2.86. Office for Refugee Relief, "Regulations of the Refugee Office," 1 January 1907.

63. *Parartima tis ephimeridas tis Voulis* (Athens, 1906), 80–88, 107–109; and GLA, ASD, 185.1.34. Report of Chasiotis, 14 December 1906.

64. I *en Elladi perithalpsis ton prosphigon*, 18.

65. For early proposals, see GLA, ASD, 185.1.34. Report of Chasiotis, 14 December 1906; and GLA, ASD, 187.1.65, 66, 68, 69. Petitions of refugees from Bulgaria and local farmers in Thessaly from March 1907.

66. *Ephimeris tis Kiverniseos* 1, no. 62 (7 April 1907). A summary of the law is found in TsDA, f. 166k, op. 1, a.e. 1014, ll. 38–41. BLA to MVRI, 11 April 1907.

67. The Greek Ministry of the Economy expected that some 828 families would settle in the newly built Nea Anchialos and another 904 in Evxeinoupolis. Close to 500 families from Stanimaka/Stenimachos purchased land for a new town near Livadeia. Other settlement sites were Ak Serai, Hatzi Moustaphalar, Amarlar, Saraslar, and Rizomilos. See Ipourgeion oikonomikon, *Ekthesis peri ton ektelesthenta pros apokatastasin ton enchorion kai epoikon omogenon en Thessalia* (Athens, 1911), 11–14 and 21, found in GLA, ASD, 188.1.17.

68. Greek refugees from Romania and the Caucuses joined the Bulgarian Greeks in their attempt to find permanent residence in Greece. GLA, ASD, 188.2.52, 53 54. ORR

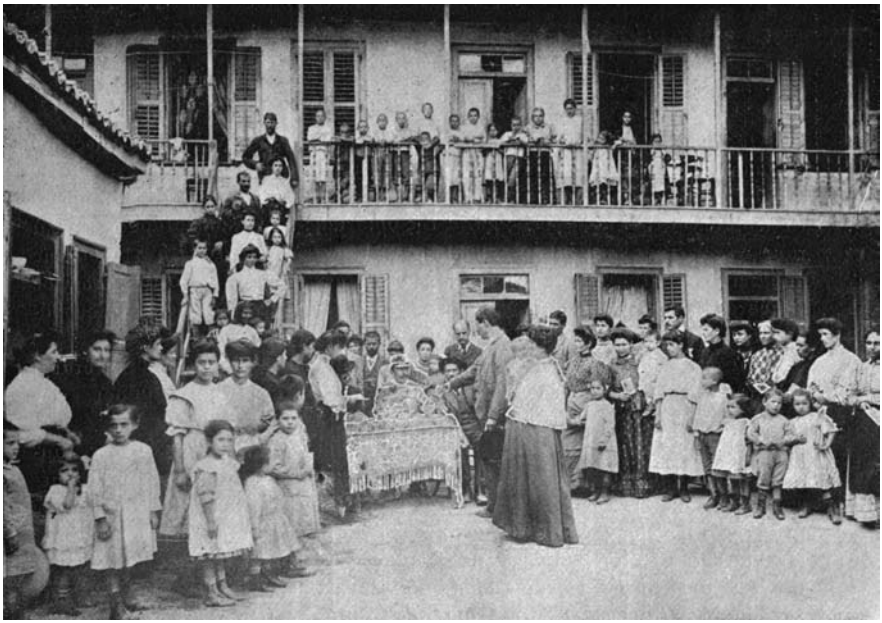

Figure 3. *Clothing distribution to Greek refugees from Bulgaria, residing in Athens after 1906, under the supervision of officials from the Office for Refugee Relief.* I en Elladi perithalpsis ton prosphigon ex Anatolikis Romilias kai Voulgarias to 1906, 1907 kai 1908 *(Athens, 1909), 25. Reproduced by permission of Princeton University Library.*

emigration, now tried to limit the number of new refugees. To reduce government expenditures, envoys estimated that only 40 percent of all refugees required financial support and insisted that the rest should cover their own expenses.[69] This tightening of financial aid provisions triggered the first wave of Greeks returning to Bulgaria and unleashed Bulgarian propaganda urging the Greeks not to leave their homes.[70] At the same time Liakopoulos expanded the supervisory functions of the ORR. Many refugees wished to settle independently outside Athens or move to Thessaly and prepare for the land distribution promised by the government. According to the ORR, however, such relocations endangered public safety and were strictly prohibited. An ORR ordinance of 30 August 1907 warned that any random

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Announcement, 12 July 1907; *Nea alitheia* and *Athinai,* 15 July 1907. Another figure is found in TsDA, f. 322k, op. 1, a.e. 169, ll. 36–39. BLA to MVRI, 27 June 1907, cites 17,834 people registered with the ORR, including 3,000 from Romania and Russia. Some Greeks settled in Southern Thrace, the Asia Minor coast, Egypt, or the United States, and 3,000 returned to Bulgaria.

69. IAIE, 1907, 3.1.1. EPPh to IE, 6 March 1907.

70. GLA, ASD, 188.2.60, 61. *Patris,* 29 July 1907; *Neo Asti,* 22 July 1907; IAIE, 1907, 3.1.1. EPPh to IE, 5 May 1907.

resettlement, without the ORR's explicit authorization, would result in the loss of refugee status and financial assistance.[71]

Despite these looming problems, in September 1907 the Royal Successor Constantine inaugurated Nea Anchialos in a ceremony celebrating the national bravery of Anchialists in the name of the Greek nation. While a military band performed and mounted peasants flanked the multitude with flags, the Bishop of Athens blessed the gathering and government representatives placed the foundational stone of the new church. Similar festivities followed in Evxeinoupolis, Nea Philippoupolis, and Neai Kariai.[72] Many supported the government initiatives, believing that the successful settlement of the refugees from Bulgaria would strengthen the links between the "free" Greeks and those outside the kingdom. In early 1907 refugees had enthusiastically greeted Prime Minister Theotokis with a round of applause upon his entrance to Parliament.[73] Local notables prepared for life in their new settlements by determining the criteria for land distribution. The government worked to secure credits and build homes for the refugees, and planned land reclamation projects to free additional agricultural plots in the assigned locales. Encouraged by such endeavors, in early 1908 many optimistic refugees moved to Thessaly to find additional land or help build their new homes.[74] The promised conditions were so favorable that other communal leaders sought to acquire land for the compact settlement of entire villages and neighborhoods that were expected to arrive from Bulgaria shortly.[75]

But lengthy delays and burdensome administrative obstacles undermined the initial enthusiasm of the prospective settlers. Communal leaders requested settlement in places that, like those they had left in Bulgaria, possessed a healthy climate, plentiful land, enough water and firewood, good communications, and economic opportunities, but the ideal location was not available.[76] Many refugees left Thessaly, because they found the plots too small and also unsuitable for the agricultural work they had been accustomed to or because the land they received was not in the same location as that of their family or co-villagers. Others never received their allotted lands, since they had left Greece in despair long before the actual settlement began.[77] Further, the stagnant water of the nearby swamps caused severe malarial outbreaks, another obvious reason for the widespread unwillingness

71. I *en Elladi perithalpsis ton prosphigon*, 20–21.

72. TsDA, f. 322k, op. 1, a.e. 169, ll. 59–63. BLA to MVRI, 1 October 1907.

73. TsDA, f. 322k, op. 1, a.e. 169, ll. 106–109. BLA to MVRI, 9 April 1907.

74. Konstantinos Emmanouilidis, *Oi anthellinikoi diogmoi en Voulgaria to 1906. Ai tragikai imerai tou Iouniou kai Iouliou. To olokavtoma tis Anchialou tin 30 Iouliou 1906* (Athens, 1956), 48–49; and GLA, ASD, 187.2.130, 131, 132, 134. Letters from the Volos area from 1908.

75. TsDA, f. 322k, op. 1, a.e. 169, ll. 16–19. BLA to MVRI, 8 October 1907. Leaders from Plovdiv/Philippoupolis and Kavakli met with King George I to discuss the availability of land that would allow the arrival of even more refugees to Thessaly. See TsDA, f. 322k, op. 1, a.e. 224. BLA to MVRI, 11 February 1908.

76. GLA, ASD, 185.1.34. Refugees from Anhialo/Anchialos, 14 December 1906.

77. Ipourgeion oikonomikon, *Ekthesis peri ton ektelesthenta*, 9–10, 12, 15–16, 21.

to remain in Thessaly. The building of a second cemetery in Nea Anchialos soon after its establishment became a tragic symbol of this misfortune.[78] Because of the infertile land, recurrent fevers, and high mortality, many refused to move to the newly built settlements in Thessaly and preferred remaining in Athens where they continued to receive monthly allowances.[79] To discourage such behavior, the ORR terminated financial assistance, first to all able-bodied males over sixteen and, after June 1908, to everyone. Accusations of squandering the "sacred money of the Greek people" spread in the press, as supposedly "fake" refugees sought public assistance while remaining unwilling to earn their living in Thessaly.[80]

In late 1909 some two hundred new homes out of a total of eight hundred in Nea Anchialos remained empty, and half the one thousand families in Evxeinoupolis moved to Almiros to avoid malaria. The official public health inquiry in 1910 estimated that, of the 2,655 inhabitants of Nea Anchialos, some 1,650 had contracted a fever and 200 had died in the last two years. The large doses of quinine that the government provided did little to alleviate the suffering.[81] Many of the new residents sold the land and the agricultural equipment distributed by the Greek government or used their settlement credits to relocate back to Bulgaria.[82] Even though subsequent changes in the settlement provisions allowed the refugees to acquire more land and purchase a second home, empty houses and open plots remained in 1911. By then visitors described Nea Anchialos as a "large cemetery," and the inhabitants of Evxeinoupolis were calling their town Nekropolis, the City of Death.[83]

Periodic Greek emigration occurred until 1911, when the desperate situation in Thessaly convinced many Greeks to return to Bulgaria permanently.[84] Eventually some five thousand refugees, or a quarter of the initial immigrants, returned to Bulgaria. Others retreated to various places in the Ottoman Empire and Egypt or immigrated to the United States.[85] The pres-

78. GLA, ASD, 70.5.122, 127, 130. Draft law for water supplies in Evxeinoupolis, 5 February 1910; Report concerning swamps around Nea Anchialos, 15 January 1911; Petition of inhabitants of Evxeinoupolis, 20 January 1911. For the demands of the refugees, see petitions in GLA, ASD, 187.2 and 187.3. According to Bulgarian diplomats, from 350 people stationed in Almiros, 300 were sick and 5 or 6 died daily. See TsDA, f. 322k, op. 1, a.e. 169, ll. 21–26. BLA to MVRI, 14 July 1907

79. GLA, ASD, 188.2.58. Interview with Liakopoulos in *Athinai,* 16 July 1907.

80. *I en Elladi perithalpsis ton prosphigon,* 24–28.

81. TsDA, 176k, op. 2, a.e. 319, ll. 18–19, 21. BLA to MVRI, 24 November 1909 and 23 April 1910.

82. TsDA, f. 322k, op. 1. a.e. 169, l. 9. BLA to MVRI, 2 November 1907; and TsDA, 176k, op. 2, a.e. 319, ll. 22–23. BLA to MVRI, 30 July 1910.

83. Ipourgeion oikonomikon, *Ekthesis peri ton ektelesthenta,* 21; *Athinai,* 6 September 1910, found in TsDA, f. 176k, op. 2, a.e. 319, ll. 36–37; TsDA, f. 322k, op. 1, a.e. 270, ll. 35–36. BLA to MVRI, 23 November 1911.

84. *Kraĭ,* 22 August, 11 September, and 6 October 1911; TsDA, 176k, op. 2, a.e. 319, ll. 26, 28, 33–34. BLA to MVRI, 23 August 1911; *Esperini,* 4 July 1911; *Athinai* and *Embros,* 1 September 1911.

85. See the numerous reports in TsDA, 176k, op. 2, a.e. 319. For the figure of fifteen thousand refugees after 1906, which takes into account those who returned, see Kotzageorgi, *Oi Ellines tis Voulgarias,* 229.

ence of the returnees was accepted in silence by Greek diplomats, whereas Bulgarian politicians boasted triumphantly. This unsuccessful experiment with impelled migration tarnished the reputation of the Greek Kingdom and undermined the legitimacy of the Megali Idea; the failed integration of the Greeks from Bulgaria not only revealed the economic limitations of an undeveloped country but also made clear the lack of national unity in Greek society. Though the population of the Greek Kingdom supported the national cause rhetorically, many Greek citizens refused to sacrifice socio-economic and political interest for the sake of their "national brethren" in need.

Between Home and Homeland

The chaotic return migration of the Bulgarian Greeks challenged one of the milestones of national ideology, namely, that the members of each nation belonged to a nation-state, exposing the unstable relationship between territoriality and nationality in the early twentieth century. Initially numerous Greeks enthusiastically embraced the idea of relocating, as they saw this as a chance to settle in the land they had always identified with. But many soon discovered that they had unrealistic expectations from a country plagued by economic, social, and political problems, which could not devote full attention to their plight. What decided the question for many returnees was not the promise of uniting with their "national homeland" but rather the better living conditions that were possible in their "native land." Life in Bulgaria, even for a minority, provided the assurance of familiar daily life, established social relations, and secure economic conditions that the Greeks enjoyed as locals. In Greece, the loving motherland of their dreams, the Bulgarian Greeks were newcomers who had to learn everything anew. The years between 1906 and 1911 saw a notable shift from the new Greek citizens' early enthusiasm to "unite" with their "motherland" to their later disappointment and skepticism with life in Greece.

Immediately after the Anhialo/Anchialos blaze, a surge of patriotic sentiment occurred in the Greek communities in Bulgaria and among the public in Greece. The national language provided the best medium for articulating the indignation about the Anhialo/Anchialos disaster, which most Greeks experienced as an insidious blow to their nation. Many Greeks, feeling threatened as a group defined in national terms, emigrated and sent fervent letters back to their relatives in Bulgaria urging them to leave as soon as possible.[86] People in Greece were compassionate and offered support to the newcomers, seeing them as brothers in need of help from the national community. A grassroots patriotic mood was strong in 1906. Posters and poems celebrated

86. TsDA, f. 322k, op. 1, a.e. 169, ll. 113–117. BLA to MVRI, 5 March 1907; TsDA, f. 166k, op. 1, a.e. 1014, l. 66. Letter from 30 June 1907.

the virtue of the Greeks and denounced the savagery of the Bulgarians.[87] Cartoons depicted the Bulgarians as barbarians and thugs. Editorials abounded with derogatory references to the Bulgarian neighbors.[88] The inhabitants of Athens marked the first anniversary of the Anhialo/Anchialos fire with a solemn memorial.[89] At the inauguration of Nea Anchialos, speeches compared the 1906 blaze to other tragic episodes in Greek history and proclaimed Anchialists to be victims of the Megali Idea.[90]

Greek officials and ordinary Greeks used the national idiom profusely, describing emigration as a national choice. The ORR director Liakopoulos spoke in terms of "the dilemma [of the Bulgarian Greeks] either to become Bulgarians or to come to Greece."[91] Leaders of the population already in Greece claimed that "all Greeks will resettle from [Bulgaria]. They cannot reside there anymore because of the suffocating atmosphere. There is no physical persecution, but the Greeks are treated with moral terror, which, added to their patriotism, would force everyone to abandon the country."[92] Refugee petitions to the Greek government and international public opinion emphasized the national loyalty of the Greeks and highlighted the Bulgarian pressures on their nationality and the seizure of Greeks churches and schools as the main reason for emigration.[93] Potential refugees still in Bulgaria insisted that, "we are all waiting to embrace mother Greece and to save ourselves from Krum's heirs because life [in Bulgaria] is life among tigers. . . . When we settle in our free motherland . . . we will be again what we have always been, true Greeks."[94]

But although many refugees were moved by patriotic excitement, others emigrated for less altruistic reasons. Greek diplomats lamented that some "left [Bulgaria] not to follow their national feelings but [to satisfy] . . . their insurmountable needs."[95] Bulgarian officials also believed that, "the psychology of the masses . . . regarding economic interest [does not allow us] to assume that moral and national motives . . . could compel hundreds of families to change their lives."[96] The press in Greece admitted that, "even the best Greeks, whether inside or outside of Greece, are more concerned with their personal matters [*ta idia*] rather than the public good [*ta koina*]. This

87. Ioannis Vordonis, *Katastrophi tis Anchialou. Poiima* (Athens, 1907); TsDA, f. 166k, op. 1, a.e. 1012, l. 41. BLA to MVRI, 3 September 1906.

88. *Skrip,* 3 September 1906, depicted the Bulgarian King Ferdinand on the top of Greek skeletons, found in TsDA, f. 166k, op. 1. a.e 1012, l. 40. See also *Kairoi,* 19 August 1906, found in TsDA, f. 166k, op. 1. a.e 1010. l. 225.

89. TsDA, f. 322k, op. 1, a.e. 169, l. 88. BLA to MVRI, 4 August 1907.

90. TsDA, f. 322k, op. 1, a.e. 169, ll. 59–63. BLA to MVRI, 1 October 1907. For the speeches, see TsDA, f. 166k, op. 1, a.e. 1015, ll. 129–130.

91. *Athinai,* 17 July 1907, found in TsDA, f. 166k, op.1, a.e. 1015, l. 30.

92. TsDA, f. 166k, op. 1, a.e. 1014, ll. 98–103. BLA to MVRI, 9 June 1907.

93. Petition to the Hague Conference, *Athinai,* 17 July 1907, found in TsDA, f. 166k, op.1, a.e. 1015, l. 30.

94. *Athinai,* 29 December 1907, found in TsDA, f. 176k, op. 2, a.e. 48, ll. 5–6.

95. IAIE, 1907, 3.1.1. Consulate in Edirne to IE, 8 March 1907.

96. TsDA, f. 322k, op. 1, a.e. 169, ll. 151–152. MVRI to BLA, 22 May 1907.

explains why the Greeks are so advanced as private persons [*idiotikos*] and so completely behind in communal matters [*eis ta dimosia*]."[97] Soon journalists started castigating official policies, claiming that "the Greek government has the duty not to abandon the refugees to swamps with deadly diseases, [or leave them] naked, hungry, with no clothes, food, and medicines."[98] Refugees also complained that "the [Greek] government has abandoned us to destiny's hands. We have no bread [and] our children are forced to beg on the streets . . . various epidemics affect us and many have died . . . while in Bulgaria we can find employment."[99] The discrepancy between the proclamations of national unity and the reality of refugee settlement disappointed many newcomers who started privileging their smooth socioeconomic transition over national priorities.

Following the national exhilaration in 1906, there was a significant change in Greek public sentiment. With the perpetuation of settlement problems, more and more locals felt that the government spent too much money on the newcomers and ignored badly needed domestic reform. According to Bulgarian sources, after 1908 local Greeks openly referred to the refugees as "inept elements" (*kalpavi elementi*) and "avoiders of labor" (*neliubiteli na truda*), demonstrating the negative reaction to the refugees in Greek society.[100] Newspapers in Greece urged them to adopt a "more patriotic stance," to stop calling Greece "a heartless, callous country," and to show gratitude for the sacrifice made by the motherland. Refugee representatives, on their part, responded that the striking inability of the autochthons to accommodate twenty thousand brethren after spending millions constituted "a stigma on the Free State."[101] The lack of land and agricultural equipment, the corruption of contractors and state officials, the malarial outbreaks and other deadly diseases, and the universal misery in Thessaly reinforced the Bulgarian Greeks' ambivalence toward Greece as the unifying center of the Greek nation.

The recurrent remorse among the refugees in Greece and their thoughts of returning to Bulgaria, coupled with the large number of actual returnees, confirm the intense frustration they felt. Educated in the Hellenic tradition and indoctrinated with ideas of Greek greatness, the refugees experienced "disappointment with . . . [their] childhood dreams."[102] Bulgarian diplomats, even though partial in their assessments, sensed a profound transformation in the sentiment of the refugees. "These Greeks, who had dreamt of resettling

97. *Patris,* 1 January 1908, found in TsDA, 176k, op. 2, a.e. 48, ll. 77–79.

98. Ibid., 4 July 1907, found in TsDA, f. 166k, op. 1, a.e. 1015, ll. 17–18.

99. TsDA, f. 322k, op. 1, a.e. 270, ll. 35–36. BLA to MVRI, 23 November 1911.

100. TsDA, f. 322k, op. 1, a.e. 169, ll. 21–26, 70–73. BLA to MVRI, 14 July and 28 August 1907; TsDA, f. 176k, op. 2, a.e. 319, ll. 14–15, 18–19. BLA to MVRI, 24 August and 24 November 1909.

101. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 2, a.e. 319, ll. 33–34, 36–37. *Athinai* and *Embros,* 1 September 1911; *Athinai,* 6 September 1911; TsDA, f. 322k, op. 1, 270, ll. 35–36. BLA to MVRI, 23 November 1911, citing *Chronos,* 7 November 1911.

102. The Burgas/Pirgos newspaper *Nova epoha,* quoted in *Den,* 18 September 1906.

in the foothills of the Acropolis since their childhood, now that this dream has come true, turn their yearning eyes from the classical buildings of Athens to the native Bulgarian plains, which have never been exalted by classical poets but have generously nursed their native sons. . . . This disappointment betrays [the existence of] feelings toward their native land [*rodnata zemia*], which is not Hellas [but Bulgaria]—and this [is occurring while they are] in Hellas."[103] As diplomats perceived it, the newcomers, "realizing that resources have shrunk, started to protest against the overly praised Hellenic state, and every week Bulgarian ships fill up with more and more refugees who return to their old fatherland [*staroto otechestvo*], which has started to appear to them more blessed than any other place."[104] Another Bulgarian opinion concluded: "Blue skies and ancient glory are not enough because one has to first of all satisfy one's stomach, which does not understand classical poetry or aesthetics."[105] Though such remarks from the mouths of Bulgarian officials mocked Greek national pride, they also revealed that the Bulgarian Greeks had started to dismiss empty slogans of national glory and were now focused on practical issues of socioeconomic security.

The refugees voiced their disillusionment with the situation in Greece in terms of "native land" and stressed tangible aspects of daily life such as climate, soil, and working conditions, which indicated a divergence between loyalty to a local community and devotion to a national territory. Many sincerely emphasized that the difficult economic situation and universal misery after relocation made them reconsider the importance of national allegiances.[106] One refugee worried that "without water and wood, without meadows and pastures for the stock, what shall we do during the winter? We cannot stay here, Sir; we shall go to our places [*v nashensko*]: there we have water; a river traverses our village, which is surrounded by pastures and woods. . . . No, Sir, there is no better country than ours! One must stay where one is born!"[107] Other refugees admitted that their primary reason for emigration was the hope of finding better land in Greece. After encountering "the soil here [*tukashnata zemia*], so infertile compared to theirs," the newcomers were convinced that "they would never find such fertile fields, ample pastures, meadows, and oak trees . . . except in their native land [*v rodniia si kraĭ*]."[108] The hardships of settling in Greece convinced many that the return to their homes in Bulgaria was justified from a socioeconomic perspective. This opposition between "here" and "there," between "familiar" and "unfamiliar," allowed the Greeks to preserve their loyalty to Bulgaria, obfuscating a neat division between national groups.

103. TsDA, f. 322k, op. 1, a.e. 165, ll. 50–52. BLA to MVRI, 14 October 1906.
104. TsDA, f. 322k, op. 1, a.e. 246, l. 11. BLA to MVRI, 24 August 1909.
105. TsDA, f. 166k, op. 1, a.e. 1014, ll. 98–103. BLA to MVRI, 9 June 1907.
106. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 2, a.e. 44, ll. 32–33. BLA to MVRI, 5 December 1908.
107. TsDA, f. 322k, op. 1, a.e. 165, ll. 38–41. BLA to MVRI, 8 November 1906.
108. TsDA, f. 322k, op. 1, a.e. 169, ll. 113–117. BLA to MVRI, 5 March 1907.

As the ambivalence of the refugees grew, the rhetoric of the native land served as an emergency strategy to further the interests of individuals and families in need. When the failure of Nea Anchialos became apparent, many refugees contacted the Bulgarian Embassy in Athens, requesting, as Bulgarian citizens, assistance to repatriate.[109] Even when they used terms such as "mother Bulgaria," "fatherland," and "the promised land" (*obetovanata zemia*) to underline their desire to return to Bulgaria, the prospective returnees focused on the concepts of native place and home rather than nation.[110] Many individuals, feeling lost because of their circumstances in Greece, desperately needed help. A man from Varna pleaded, "Do me a favor [and send me to Bulgaria for free] so that I don't stay here and perish."[111] This statement, addressed to Bulgarian diplomats but written in Greek, expressed the conviction that the state was obliged to protect its citizens, regardless of their nationality. Individuals did not think of emigration or residence primarily as a national choice but believed, instead, that the best way to formulate where one wished to live was in terms of home.

The strategic thinking of individuals was evident in the way they handled military service. Many Greeks emigrated because they wished to avoid a Bulgarian draft or because they had been abused upon conscription in the Bulgarian Army. Greek youngsters preferred to serve in the Greek military, hoping for better treatment in an army composed of co-nationals. Greek leaders in Bulgaria had urged young Greeks to defect from the army of a "barbarian country" and serve in the army of "Great Greece." By late 1906 some three hundred Greeks from Bulgaria had been recruited into the Greek Navy.[112] But the new arrivals soon discovered that local Greeks mocked their rudimentary Greek knowledge, derogatorily called them Bulgarians, or, even worse, considered them Bulgarian spies.[113] Individuals with complex identities found it difficult to avoid demands for a straightforward national delimitation. One Greek from Plovdiv/Philippoupolis allegedly contacted the Bulgarian Embassy "with tears in his eyes," asking assistance to return to Bulgaria before he was considered a defector from the Bulgarian Army. After weighing the advantages and disadvantages of joining either of the two countries' armies, the young man chose Bulgaria as his place of military service and permanent residence.[114] The Bulgarian government took a pragmatic approach and granted amnesty to all Greeks who had defected from the Bulgarian Army because of emigration.[115] The aim was to

109. TsDA, f. 166k, op. 1, a.e. 1015, l. 20. Undated Memo of MVRI; TsDA, f. 176k, op. 2, a.e. 319, ll. 14–15, 11. BLA to MVRI, 24 August 1909; Burgas District Chief to MVRI, 5 May 1909.

110. TsDA, f. 322k, op. 1, a.e. 169, ll. 21–26. BLA to MVRI, 14 July 1907.

111. TsDA, f. 166k, op. 1, a.e. 1015, l. 19. Undated letter of a man from Varna.

112. TsDA, f. 322k, op.1, a.e. 165, ll. 73–75. BLA to MVRI, 9 November 1906.

113. TsDA, f. 322k, op. 1, a.e. 165, ll. 53, 55, 71–72. BLA to MVRI, 2, 21, and 26 November 1906; TsDA, f. 322k, op. 1, a.e. 169, ll. 127–128. BLA to MVRI, 1 June 1907.

114. TsDA, f. 322k, op.1, a.e. 165, ll. 73–75. BLA to MVRI, 9 November 1906.

115. TsDA, f. 176k, op, 2, a.e. 319, l. 11. Burgas District Chief to MVRI, 5 May 1909.

mold these people into grateful and loyal Bulgarian citizens, albeit of foreign nationality.

Citizenship remained a complicated matter. Bulgarian diplomats feared that some individuals manipulated citizenship laws in order to further Greek propaganda efforts in Bulgaria. Former Bulgarian residents arrived in the Bulgarian Embassy in Athens with their new, Greek passports and requested visas to travel to Bulgaria with the intention of recruiting Greek refugees or circumventing Bulgarian property laws.[116] Officials were annoyed that some Greeks interchangeably used their Bulgarian and Greek passports, and could remain undetected in Bulgaria. This situation triggered an investigation into the legality of the Greek government automatically granting Greek citizenship to all refugees, without following proper procedures and revoking their Bulgarian citizenship. International practice required that individuals wait two years before they could acquire new citizenship. Bulgarian diplomats in Greece started seizing the Greek passports of the aspiring returnees, providing them with Bulgarian papers instead. Police officials in Bulgaria confiscated the Greek passports of Bulgarian citizens who improperly traveled with documents issued by a foreign country and treated these Greeks as Bulgarian citizens who had to get their papers in order.[117]

As return migration accelerated in 1911, the government of Ivan Geshov relaxed the procedures for the repatriation of former Bulgarian residents, requiring the renewal of citizenship only when authorities were explicitly aware that the returnee had switched to Greek citizenship. Officials automatically reinstated Bulgarian citizenship for all returning Greeks, because they wanted to avoid the Greek Embassy's meddling in internal affairs. Authorities were careful to relax the procedures for Greek youngsters who were due to be drafted in the army. Further, there were financial considerations in the reinstatement of citizenship, because, as Bulgarian citizens, returnees could seek financial aid upon arriving in Bulgaria. This fact did not escape the returning Greeks, and throughout 1911 they flocked to the embassy in Athens, requesting assistance in different matters.[118]

Those who returned to Bulgaria did not experience repatriation as a national choice.[119] There was no indication that the returnees became "Bulgarians" or ceased being "Greeks." The population did not fit in perfectly in either country, and, marked as somewhat different in both Bulgaria

116. TsDA, f. 322k, op. 1, a.e. 198, ll. 4–9. BLA to MVRI, 5 September 1907.

117. TsDA, f. 322k, op. 1, a.e. 198, ll. 11–12. Bulgarian translation of the law granting Greek citizenship to the refugees as of 29 January 1907; TsDA, f. 166k, op. 1, a.e. 1015, ll. 38–39, 91. BLA to MVRI, 26 September 1907; Circular of MVRNZ to the district chiefs, 15 October 1907.

118. TsDA, f. 322k, op. 1, 270, ll. 35–36, 37, 38. BLA to MVRI, 23 November 1911; MVRI to BLA, 8 and 14 December 1911.

119. This trend explains why some found a solution in transatlantic migration and settled in the United States. See the story of the Mavrovitis family whose maternal grandmother left Sozopol/Sozoupolis in 1906, settled in Greece for several years, and then left for the United States. Mavrovitis, *Remember Us*.

and Greece, the Bulgarian Greeks chose their residence based on factors other than nationality. Many remained in Bulgaria or returned there after relocating in order to take advantage of better economic conditions and social services. Others felt an emotional connection to their birthplace or did not like the reception they had received in Greece. The returnees were more comfortable in their communities in Bulgaria, but they did not feel that, upon returning, they had to renounce their Greek heritage. They believed they could remain culturally Greek while calling Bulgaria their native country, and, by doing so, they questioned the link between nation and state that official propaganda tried to create.

Nationalization in Bulgaria

The anti-Greek movement and the resulting emigration compelled Bulgarian politicians to formulate a systematic program for the Greeks' integration into Bulgarian society. Though not planning or endorsing the anti-Greek events, successive governments after 1906 took full advantage of the unrest to assert their desired goal of assimilating the Greeks into Bulgaria. In many ways this was the first methodical attempt of the Bulgarian administration to delineate comprehensive, all-embracing policies targeting a "minority" in Bulgarian territory. It is striking that the object of these policies were not the Muslim Turks but the Christian Greeks who, numbering only seventy thousand persons, comprised merely 1.89 percent of the population in 1900, according to official data. Even though a significant number of Turks had fled Bulgarian territory after 1878, those remaining—some 539,000 persons, or 14.4 percent of the population in 1900—were granted extensive rights of autonomy, largely because of reciprocal Bulgarian demands for the autonomy of the Bulgarians in the Ottoman Empire.[120] Because no compact Bulgarian populations resided in the Kingdom of Greece, the Bulgarian administration faced fewer diplomatic complications in enforcing restrictions on the Greeks in Bulgaria. Officials emphasized that any privileges that the Greeks of Bulgaria had enjoyed since 1878 constituted "a legacy of Mohammed II the Conqueror . . . incompatible with the principles of a modern state." Instead, the Bulgarian authorities wanted to ensure that there was "no impingement over the rights of the majority by special privileges of the minority."[121] Asserting the national character of the Bulgarian state, the administration claimed that it had the right to eliminate or neutralize its national enemies. The goals were twofold: to undermine the economic prominence of the Greeks in Bulgaria and to forge the minority's loyalty to the Bulgarian state rather than to its autonomous communities. The legal status of Patriarchist churches, the enforcement of Bulgarian-language

120. Neuburger, *The Orient Within,* 36; Eminov, *Turkish and Other Muslim Minorities,* 71; Crampton, *Bulgaria,* 424–425.

121. *Polozhenieto na gârtsite v Bâlgariia,* 63–64, 67.

instruction, and reforms in local administration became the main aspects of the nationalization campaigns targeting the Greeks in Bulgaria after 1906.

After the unfortunate evolution of the anti-Greek movement, the Petrov government hoped to implement the nationalization of the Greeks without attracting international criticism. Instead of forceful and violent methods, officials wished to enforce the peaceful assimilation of the population. Following the Theotokis administration's accusations of religious persecution Prime Minister Petrov, in September 1906, dismissed the alleged use of force by Bulgarian officials as a "pedestrian method of Bulgarization [*plosâk nachin na pobâlgariavane*]." Instead, he explained how his administration would pursue the Greeks' assimilation with universally recognized legal means: "to accomplish the Bulgarization [or] at least the depersonalization [*obezlichavane*] of the Greek element in Bulgaria in a painless, albeit slower, way [*neboleznen makar i po-baven nachin na pobâlgariavane*], the Bulgarian government has at its disposal the educational system, economic policies, administrative measures, as well as our military forces." In this honest confession, Petrov pinpointed the mechanisms of national persuasion that a state could legitimately implement. Such measures could change, he hoped, the allegiances of the "Greek element" and successfully fuse the population into the Bulgarian national body. The prime minister insisted that "the Bulgarian government has demonstrated enormous tolerance [toward the Greeks] that has reached self-negation," and he emphasized that "Bulgaria, in case she had a real political interest and discerned any danger from the Greeks, would not hesitate to openly consider weakening, with legal means, the influence of its internal enemies and . . . Bulgarize the Greeks who live in Bulgaria."[122] In this way he linked nationalization to issues of sovereignty and national security, the importance of which justified restricting the autonomy of the population.

Greek officials recognized the legality of peaceful integration. Requesting more lenient educational reforms in Bulgaria, Prime Minister Theotokis, in early 1907, admitted the importance of "evolutionary measures" in the transformation of the minority's allegiances and its fusion with the majority. "The Greek element in Bulgaria will be assimilated sooner or later. This will be the logical and inevitable result of its long-standing contacts with the Bulgarian population and the influence the latter would exert over the course of time."[123] Another Greek official emphasized that the Greeks in Bulgaria, "sooner or later, would become good citizens of Bulgaria, destined to be recast into good Bulgarians."[124] These statements implied an understanding that national assimilation need not be imposed through violence but would occur as the inevitable result of socioeconomic and cultural forces influencing the loyalties of ordinary people. Foreign observers concurred:

122. TsDA, f. 322k, op. 1, a.e. 161, ll. 34–35. Memo of Racho Petrov, 23 September 1906.
123. TsDA, f. 166k, op. 1, a.e. 1012, ll. 333–334. BLA to MVRI, 31 January 1907.
124. TsDA, f. 166k, op. 1, a.e. 1011, l. 37. Legation in Vienna to MVRI, 2 February 1907.

"In a state with the national diversity of Bulgaria, varied national lifestyles cannot be sustained for long, and peace and tranquility can be achieved only with the fusion of the two national tribes [of Bulgarians and Greeks]... The two nationalities can balance each other very successfully, if one absorbs the good qualities of the other." Examples of this successful "fusion" included civil servants and military officers who added the Bulgarian suffix "–ov" to the end of their Greek surnames.[125] High officials in both countries as well as international observers recognized that nationality was malleable and admitted that, by expanding its jurisdictions, a nation-state could shape the way its citizens thought about their national allegiances.

When the Bulgarian administration tried to enforce the "depersonalization" of its "Greek element" in 1906, however, Greek envoys insisted that, under the 1878 Treaty of Berlin, Bulgaria remained a vassal of the Ottoman Empire and therefore was obliged to preserve the autonomy of the Greek communities in its territory. Thus the policies of nationalization that it implemented abrogated an international treaty still in effect. The Patriarchate reminded the European public of the schism of 1872, contending that a separate Bulgarian Church was illegal and that the Ottoman government should revoke its license. In contrast, the Petrov government claimed that the clauses of the Berlin Treaty relating to Bulgaria had already been nullified, de facto if not de jure, by diplomatic practice and economic reality because many European countries, including Greece, had concluded political and economic agreements with the principality.[126] But, in any case, any legal hindrance to Bulgaria's nationalization program ceased to exist on 22 September 1908, when the country declared its independence from the Ottoman Empire. From that point on, the administration of Alexander Malinov assumed its right to enforce reforms that secured the national basis of the country, not only in international and trade relations but also in internal affairs. Independence allowed the more vigorous Bulgarization of the Greeks, and, after 1908, officials expanded their assimilationist policies.[127]

Bulgarian officials wished to reform the religious organization of the Greek communities, which followed the authority of the Patriarchate, because for many years the special status of the Greeks had allowed the intervention of both the Ecumenical Church and the Greek government into Bulgarian affairs. In 1906 Bulgarian diplomats maintained that the existence of parallel Orthodox institutions in Bulgaria "abrogate[d] church canon as well as the Bulgarian Constitution" because the availability of Exarchist and Patriarchist authorities in the many dioceses contradicted

125. "The Greek Colony in Bulgaria," *Neue Freie Presse,* found in TsDA, f. 166k, op. 1, a.e. 1010, l. 177. Legation in Berlin to MVRI, 19 August 1906.

126. Patriarchat Oecuménique, *Memorandums,* 24–33; A. R., *Persécutions des Grecs en Bulgarie,* 32–36; Thrakomakedon, *Ai voulgarikai thiriodiai kai i Evropi 1885–1906* (Athens, 1906), 18–30; *Polozhenieto na gârtsite v Bâlgariia,* 45–52, 65–69.

127. Crampton, *Bulgaria,* 174–179.

basic rules of religious organization.[128] Instead of focusing on its religious functions, officials charged, the Patriarchate used the Greek communities as a political tool to meddle in Bulgarian affairs and to impinge upon the rights of the Bulgarian majority.[129] Further, Bulgarian diplomats challenged the right of the Greek government to intervene on behalf of the Patriarchate in Bulgaria and insisted that the Ecumenical Church administration, located in Istanbul, was "an independent institution in another country [the Ottoman Empire]."[130] By 1911 the Malinov government ceased to recognize the right of the Greek Embassy to intervene in Greek communal matters and insisted that Greek diplomats could only mediate with Bulgarian authorities regarding Greek citizens residing in Bulgaria.[131] The goal was to enforce a strict separation in the previously overlapping functions of the Patriarchate, the Greek state, and the Greek communities. In the end Bulgarian authorities started treating the Greeks in Bulgaria as Bulgarian citizens that were accountable only to the Bulgarian government, not to the Patriarchate or the Greek government.

The new religious policies sought to "sever any communication between the Patriarchate in Istanbul and the Greeks in Bulgaria by the elimination of the Greek bishoprics and the subordination of the Greek dioceses to Bulgarian bishops."[132] After 1906 authorities did not allow the Greek bishops to return to the five Patriarchist bishoprics (Plovdiv/Philippoupolis, Varna, Anhialo/Anchialos, Mesemvria, and Sozopol/Sozoupolis) and considered the emissaries appointed by the Patriarchate to be private persons without any right to negotiate with the Bulgarian government regarding Greek religious matters. Without a public proclamation, by 1911 the Malinov government had essentially abolished the Patriarchist bishoprics in Bulgarian territory and ceased to recognize their authority over the Greek population.[133] This struggle over religious power in the country aimed to remove all remnants of the Ottoman system of dual jurisdiction over religious matters and to affirm the exclusive dominion of the Bulgarian national Church, the Exarchate. While strictly prohibiting Patriarchist bishops, however, authorities did not systematically purge Greek priests but allowed their continued service in many localities.[134] The government tested policies on how to limit Greek influence in the country but did not launch an outright assault on Greek autonomy.

128. TsDA, f. 322k, op. 1, a.e. 165, ll. 12–14. Trade Mission in Salonica to BLA, 11 October 1906.

129. *Polozhenieto na gârtsite v Bâlgariia,* 66–67.

130. TsDA, f. 322k, op. 1, a.e. 161, ll. 9–12. Legation in Rome to MVRI, 1 August 1906.

131. IAIE, 1919, 115.4. EPS to IE, 25 October 1911.

132. *Polozhenieto na gârtsite v Bâlgariia,* 67.

133. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 2, a.e. 966, l. 2. BLI to MVRI, 30 March and 24 May 1911, conveying the opinion of the Exarchate on Patriarchist bishops.

134. IAIE, 1912, 115.4. EPS to IE, 25 October and 10 December 1911. The list of Patriarchist churches after 1906 confirms that Greek priests continued to function in some localities.

The Exarchate pursued its own agenda. Religious leaders increased their pressures on Patriarchists to recognize the Bulgarian Church, even as they claimed that all conversions were voluntary and according to regulations.[135] Ecclesiastical authorities maintained that a distinction existed between the "Bulgarian grâkomani" (*bâlgaro-grâkomani*) and the "pure Greeks" (*chisti gârtsi*), and asserted that "no churches and schools were ever closed for the minority of pure Greeks."[136] They insisted that the only churches that had been seized in 1906 belonged to grâkomani, implying that these were Bulgarians with a mistaken Greek consciousness and had to be brought back to the nation. This expedient argument justified the expropriation of the Greek churches as the rightful return of property to the Bulgarian nation, but it ignored the fact that many churches seized in 1906 were in predominantly Greek localities.[137]

Property rights over Patriarchist churches stood at the heart of the controversy. Greek communal leaders, members of the clergy, and diplomats actively sought the reversal of all expropriations that had occurred in 1906.[138] As a result of international pressures, the Petrov government appointed a commission to decide which properties should be returned to the Greek communities.[139] In March 1907 officials suggested the restoration of selected buildings or the institution of alternate church services in the Greek and Bulgarian languages, pointing out the smaller number of Greeks in the specific localities and the unpopularity of church returns among the local Bulgarians. But when authorities restored Greek control over two of the five churches in Plovdiv/Philippoupolis, the Patriarchate refused to accept the settlement. Instead, its representative insisted on the recovery of all Greek properties and requested guarantees that there would be "no reduction of the religious and social rights" of the Greeks.[140] But the Bulgarian government had no intention of returning the churches and schools in their entirety, and it never renewed its proposal. Given the popularity of Greek communal property expropriations at home, the Petrov administration strove to consolidate the changes and transfer the Greek churches and schools that had already been seized to the respective Bulgarian communities.

Another aspect of the nationalization of the Greeks was the implementation of Article X of the loosely enforced Educational Law of 1892, which postulated that all children of Bulgarian citizens must receive their primary education in Bulgarian-language institutions using Bulgarian manuals.

135. TsDA, f. 322k, op. 1, a.e. 161, l. 36. BLA to MVRI, 2 September 1906.

136. TsDA, f. 166k, op. 1. a.e. 1012, ll. 73–74. The Exarchate to BLI, 2 September 1906.

137. IAIE, 1912, 115.4. EPS to IE, 25 October and 10 December 1911.

138. IAIE, 1907, 3.1.1. Photios to Geshov, 13 March 1907; IAIE, 3.1.2. EPS to IE, 10 April 1907; MVRI to Photios, 19 March 1907. See also TsDA, f. 166k, op. 1, a.e. 1013, ll. 175–182. Undated annotation of all documents concerning the anti-Greek events.

139. IAIE, 1907, 3.1.2. EPS to IE, 15 March and 10 April 1907.

140. IAIE, 1907, 3.1.1. Photios to Geshov, 13 March 1907; TsDA, f. 166k, op. 1, a.e. 1011, ll. 50–53, 63, 81. Photios to MVRI, 12 March 1907; Plovdiv District Chief to MVRI, 20 April 1907; Administrator of Plovdiv to MVRI, 26 April 1907.

Minority children could continue their secondary education in private schools whose curriculum was approved by the Ministry of Education.[141] Bulgarian diplomats explained that the purpose of the enforcement was to undermine "the senseless extremism and the hatred against everything Bulgarian that is taught to children in Greek schools."[142] School officials had long been worried that Greek private schools used textbooks printed in Athens that presented an incorrect interpretation of history.[143] Beginning in the fall of 1906 the regional superintendents of Varna, Burgas/Pirgos, and Plovdiv/Philippoupolis started imposing fines on Greek parents who did not send their children to Bulgarian primary schools.[144] The new educational rules regulated the affairs of Muslim, Jewish, and Armenian minority schools but made no mention of the Greeks, essentially prohibiting the existence of Greek educational institutions. Even more alarming for the Greeks, Bulgarian teachers began taking over the classrooms in formerly Greek schools in the Plovdiv/Philippoupolis and the Black Sea areas.[145] After the declaration of independence in 1908, officials consolidated these changes with the Public Education Law of 1909, which made Bulgarian history, geography, and language compulsory for all Bulgarian citizens.[146] Unhappy with these changes, many Greek communities operated secret schools in private homes, hoping that the crisis would subside and that the old communal status quo would return.[147]

In addition to matters of religion and education, Bulgarian officials also sought to undercut Greek influence in local administrative and economic matters. The successive Bulgarian governments systematically replaced local Greek officials with Bulgarians. Whereas Bulgarians had already made inroads in the administration of the large, multiethnic cities of Varna, Burgas/Pirgos, and Plovdiv/Philippoupolis, after 1906 the government appointed the first Bulgarian mayors in the majority Greek Anhialo/Anchialos, Mesemvria, and Kavakli. In Anhialo/Anchialos the goal of the new mayor was "to lay the foundations of a purely Bulgarian county administration" and buttress the Bulgarian character of the area.[148] This administrative change also allowed local officials to handle the properties of the Greek emigrants in ways

141. A. R., *Persécutions des Grecs en Bulgarie,* 32.

142. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 2, a.e. 319, ll. 14–15. BLA to MVRI, 24 August 1909.

143. For the content of Greek textbooks, see TsDA f. 166k, op. 1, a.e. 1012, ll. 90–91, 88–89. See also *Polozhenieto na gârtsite v Bâlgariia,* 58–59.

144. An increase in attendance rates after 1906 is evident in TsDA, f. 177k, op. 1. a.e. 270, 271. Annual reports of the Burgas and Varna superintendents for 1909–10.

145. IAIE, 1907, 3.1.1. Photios to Geshov, 13 March 1907.

146. Mila Mancheva, "Image and Policy: The Case of Turks and Pomaks in interwar Bulgaria, 1918–1944 (With Special Reference to Education), *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 12 (2001): 365.

147. Secret schools existed in Stanimaka/Stenimachos, Voden/Vodena, and Kuklen/Kouklaina, and in Plovdiv/Philippoupolis the male boarding house had survived the pogroms. See IAIE, 1912, 115.4. EPS to IE, 10 December 1911; Report regarding the Greek population in Bulgaria, 17 July 1913.

148. *Kraĭ,* 3 February 1910.

that benefited the Bulgarians inhabiting the areas. Many refugees wanted to sell their land and real estate before they left the country or after they had settled in Greece. Yet authorities urged the Bulgarians in mixed localities not to purchase the land of the departing Greeks, as they would receive these plots for free later on.[149] Bulgarian residents of Anhialo/Anchialos implored the government not to rebuild the Greek neighborhood but to sell the lots to Bulgarians.[150] The new administration in Kavakli openly encouraged Bulgarians to settle in the lands of their Greek neighbors.[151] Officials even considered the colonization of the Black Sea with Bulgarians from the interior to strengthen Bulgarian presence in these areas.[152] In early 1907 the government revised the laws concerning the property of foreign citizens, banning person of foreign citizenship from owning real estate in the countryside. The news enraged the refugees in Athens, all of them now Greek citizens, and many contemplated returning to Bulgaria in order to preserve their properties.[153]

These campaigns that aimed to undermine Greek influence in Bulgaria constituted the first orderly endeavor of the Bulgarian administration to deal with its minority population by pursuing concrete policies of national assimilation. Greek politicians accused the Bulgarian governments of wishing to destroy the nationality of the population and maintained that harsh official policies, especially the closure of schools and churches, had caused the emigration to Greece.[154] The Bulgarian view countered that "the Greeks in Bulgaria have civil and political rights equal to those of the Bulgarians: the right to take civil service positions, to receive honors and awards, and to practice any craft or industry. The Greeks also have unlimited freedom to govern their communities, churches, and schools."[155] Placing national priorities at the center, the administration insisted that any demands to restore Greek communal properties would lead to unrest, "something that the true friends of Bulgaria would never request."[156] In the end only about half of all former Patriarchist churches remained in Greek hands, all Greek schools were closed, and the Bulgarian communities absorbed the formerly Greek institutions.[157] Bulgarian officials adopted the logic of a "modern state" that

149. TsDA, f. 166k, op. 1, a.e. 1014, ll. 98–103. BLA to MVRI, 9 June 1907; *Athinai,* 29 December 1907, found in 176k, op. 2, a.e. 48, ll. 5–6.

150. *Kraĭ,* 2 September 1906.

151. *Akropolis,* 22 January 1908, found in TsDA, f. 176k, op. 2, a.e. 48, l. 183.

152. TsDA, f. 166k, op. 1, a.e. 1014, ll. 98–103. BLA to MVRI, 9 June 1907.

153. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 2, a.e. 48, ll. 11–12. BLA to MVRI, 29 December 1907; TsDA, f. 166k, op. 1, a.e. 1011, l. 94. Memo of MVRI, 8 May 1907. For the economic aspect of the campaigns, see Avramov, "Anhialo, 1906."

154. TsDA, f. 166k, op. 1, a.e. 1011, ll. 19–23, 29. Legations in Vienna and Rome to MVRI, 3 and 21 November 1906; and TsDA, f. 166k, op. 1, a.e. 1012, ll. 333–334. BLA to MVRI, 31 January 1907.

155. *Polozhenieto na gârtsite v Bâlgariia,* 63–64.

156. IAIE, 1907, 3.1.2. MVRI to Photios, 19 March 1907

157. According to Greek statistics, out of the thirty-one Greek churches in the Plovdiv/Philippoupolis area, seventeen remained Greek, and of the thirty-six in the Burgas/Pirgos and Varna areas, eighteen remained Greek. See IAIE, 1912, 115.4. EPS to IE, 10 December 1911;

privileged the dominant nationality within its realms; while the government proclaimed freedom and tolerance, the state machinery continued to systematically weaken the Greek communities and integrate the minority into mainstream society.

Diverse Voices of the Nation

Bulgarian residents did not greet official policies against the Greeks with unconditional support. The Macedonian conflict had created a degree of solidarity among the population, which emanated from the perception that the Bulgarian nation was losing a critical battle for its unification. But the anti-Greek movement and the response of official Bulgaria failed to bond Bulgarians in a similar manner. The violent tactics of the extreme nationalists split the popular movement and revealed the diverse views on how to pursue national interests. Bulgarians vacillated between embracing anti-Greek rhetoric and demanding even more radical policies, on the one hand, and, on the other, criticizing the offensive tactics of the government and requesting more flexible policies toward the Greeks. Trying to navigate the official policies of nationalization, the pressures of extreme organizations, and the support of moderate Bulgarians, the Greeks were uncertain about how to carve out their own place in Bulgarian society. The diverse opinions of ordinary Bulgarians and Greeks highlighted the volatility of public opinion regarding the national question and revealed the failure of the administration to forge national unity.

Bâlgarski rodoliubets espoused the most extreme opinion relating to the Greek minority. Its flyers, allegedly expressing the "orders of the people" (*zapovedite na naroda*), emphasized the national rift between Bulgarians and Greeks: "The abyss between Bulgarians and Greeks has always existed but today the hatred between the two nations . . . has become a life-or-death struggle."[158] Such rigid clichés adopted the rhetoric of the Macedonian conflict, which was to be expected given the refugee basis of the organization. The Bulgarian newspaper in Anhialo/Anchialos, *Kraĭ*, also described the Greeks as a foreign element in the Bulgarian national body: "Thirty years of independent political life have convincingly revealed that the Greeks cannot be honest citizens [of Bulgaria] . . . and no ethical understanding could exist between Bulgarians and Greeks. Indeed, we constantly see that the Greeks create discord and corrupt our young country."[159] Uncompromising opinions also spread to the mainstream press, which, with the onset of emigration, voiced the opinion that there was "nothing more open-minded than allowing [the Greeks] to go to Greece and parade their Hellenic patriotism

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Report regarding the Greek population in Bulgaria, 17 July 1913. According to *Polozhenieto na gârtsite v Bâlgariia,* 15, in 1900 there were 125 Greek churches and monasteries in Bulgaria.

158. Proclamation of Bâlgarski rodoliubets found in Deliradev, *Antigrâtskoto dvizhenie,* 39–40.

159. *Kraĭ,* 26 March 1907.

there."[160] According to nationalists, the Greeks had two options: either embrace the rules of the Bulgarian community or resettle in Greece.

Though some Bulgarians, swayed by the nationalist rhetoric, supported the nationalization of the Greeks, others sought their own personal gains. In 1906 activists in Harmanli wanted to "rescue the grâkomani villages Urum Kioĭ and Kozludzha from their current delusion and Bulgarize them [*da gi pobâlgarim*]," while a special commission collected funds for the "Bulgarization of the Black Sea shore."[161] In Burgas/Pirgos concerned activists saw the colonization of the Black Sea as a mechanism of undermining the position of the thriving Greek communities. A petition addressed to Racho Petrov described Anhialo/Anchialos as "the heart of Hellenism in our fatherland [*sârtseto na elinizma v nasheto otechestvo*]" and insisted that, instead of rebuilding this "most extremist pan-Hellenic nest [*naĭ-vârlo gnezdo na panelinizma*]," the government should sell the lands of Greek emigrants to Bulgarian colonists. Government intervention could similarly transform Mesemvria from an exclusively Greek town into a thriving Bulgarian resort.[162] Opportunists took advantage of Greek emigration, purchasing land from the emigrants and trying to take over Greek communal institutions.[163] There was a sense of entitlement among some Bulgarians who claimed to be "patriots" but were, in fact, motivated by economic considerations.

Other residents of Bulgaria subscribed to more moderate views. Condemning how the followers of Bâlgarski rodoliubets had monopolized the national scene, a Marxist critic of the anti-Greek movement complained that "the 'patriots' [claimed the right to] 'protest' the actions of nationalistic bands but did not allow 'free' Bulgaria to criticize their actions. The 'people' reigned and so the people had to stay silent." This opinion denied the right of any single organization to present its agenda as the wishes of the Bulgarian nation. The author questioned whether "national fanaticism" was appropriate given the "national diversity" in the country, suggesting that there were alternative perspectives on the assimilationist policies of the government.[164] The liberal media, expressing the views of the middle class, also opposed extreme measures such as the firing of all public servants of Greek descent, which Bâlgarski rodoliubets had advocated. Journalists charged that such a proposal only served political purposes.[165] Others warned that extreme policies would alienate loyal Bulgarian citizens and deter the assimilation of

160. *Den,* 5 August 1906.

161. Ibid., 6 August 1906; TsDA, f. 166k, op. 1, a.e. 1010, l. 12. Petition of residents of Harmanli, 2 August 1906.

162. TsDA, f. 166k, op. 1, a.e. 1009, ll. 17–18. Residents of Burgas to Racho Petrov, 12 August 1906.

163. Some 145 families settled in the village of Muradanli after 1906. See TsDA, f. 166k, op. 1, a.e. 1011, ll. 135, 138.

164. Deliradev, *Antigrâtskoto dvizhenie,* 40, 43. See also Dimo Kazasov, *Ulitsi, hora, sâbitiia: Sofiia prez pârvite godini na 20-ia vek* (Sofia, 1968), 201–204.

165. The Greek civil servants in 1906 amounted to 126 persons in various ministries and 183 persons in the local administration. TsDA, f. 166k, op. 1. a.e 1011, l. 108.

the Greeks, as many had already started "to feel like Bulgarians and to be recognized as Bulgarians by their fellow citizens."[166] Instead of using force, true patriots had to encourage these people to integrate into Bulgarian society. Educated Bulgarians realized that coercion could be counterproductive and instead proposed the "subtle, peaceful assimilation of those who stay, so that we do not turn them into enemies of Bulgaria."[167] Not all Bulgarians were influenced by the rhetoric of rowdy nationalist leaders or approved of the Petrov government's assertive national agenda.

Divided opinions were also evident among the remaining Greeks whose behavior, after 1906, reflected different strategies on how to handle anti-Greek sentiment. During the anti-Greek movement, under the treat of losing their employment or enduring daily inconveniences, many Greeks "declared themselves Bulgarians and expressed the desire to become Bulgarians," revealing the sense of emergency evoked by nationality in times of trouble.[168] Journalists classified such converts into several groups: "people whose fathers adopted Greek manners out of stupidity [*se gârcheeli so glupost*]," others who "had the misfortune to receive their primary education in Greek," and still others who "have Greek mothers or fathers." In this taxonomy the last two categories focused on the importance of education and family upbringing for the cultivation of national loyalty. The first group, however, revealed a more porous understanding of nationhood, as it implied the possibility of choice and the option of reversing that choice (in order to correct one's "stupidity") when adopting a particular nationality. Thus many Bulgarians seemed inclined to accept their Greek neighbors' often switching sides regarding their nationality. Given this malleable understanding of nationality, the tendency toward voluntary assimilation increased after 1906, when individuals of Greek descent started acting like "more fervent Bulgarian nationalists than the Bulgarians."[169] A store owner from Iambol went so far as to declare his conversion to the Bulgarian nationality:

> The undersigned Dimo Georgev, a store owner, even if a Greek by nationality [*narodnost*], I declare that I consider the Bulgarian lands to be my fatherland [*otechestvo*], where I was born, where I live, and where I earn my living. I do not recognize the Greek Patriarchate and I am under the jurisdiction of the Holy Bulgarian Exarchate. I have served my military service in the Bulgarian Army and I am a Bulgarian citizen. I have four children who have been baptized in a Bulgarian church, and two of them study in Bulgarian schools. I do not have and have no desire to have any relations with the fanatic Greeks [*gârtsi fanatitsi*] whose malice is familiar to me.[170]

166. *Den*, 5 August 1906.
167. Ibid., 20 August 1906.
168. Ibid., 28 July 1906.
169. Ibid., 5 August 1906.
170. Ibid., 2 August 1906

The sincerity of such actions is impossible to verify, but adopting a Bulgarian name and placing an advertisement in a widely read daily clearly indicate the man's eagerness to commit publicly to the dominant nationality. This statement also shows that minority individuals knew how to "speak national" in emergency situations, using the national rhetoric as a discursive weapon for asserting allegiance to the state. Georgev strategically phrased his affirmation of loyalty, emphasizing the bases of Bulgarian patriotism, namely, religion, language, civic duty, and the responsibility to educate future generations of good Bulgarians. For this Greek "by nationality" who embraced all external manifestations of Bulgarian-ness, the anti-Greek events served as a catalyst of national transformation.

Declarations of loyalty, however, could be ambiguous. In the midst of the anti-Greek movement, in a preemptive telegram, inhabitants of Kavakli pledged that they were "peaceful citizens, loyal to the motherland Bulgaria," assured that they did not sponsor Greek bands in Macedonia, and promised to support the construction of a Bulgarian church in town.[171] These petitioners, unlike Georgev, did not explicitly repudiate their Greek descent or irrevocably commit to the Bulgarian cause but only emphasized their loyalty to the Bulgarian state. Inhabitants of Stanimaka/Stenimachos similarly blamed Bulgarian opportunists for the anti-Greek pogroms in their city, denied accusations that they had sponsored bands in Macedonia, and claimed that they were "loyal subjects" of the "fatherland."[172] Individuals did not feel that they had to necessarily "change" their nationality but insistently reminded officials that they were "peaceful" and "loyal" citizens of the country.

Other Greeks adopted openly deceptive tactics. After the Anhialo/Anchialos blaze, inhabitants of Plovdiv/Philippoupolis tried to hide from the activists of Bâlgarski rodoliubets by decorating their homes with Bulgarian flags, which Greek ladies had frantically made the previous evening by cutting into pieces all the banners at their disposal. Aware of the defensive function of these actions, Bulgarians remarked mockingly: "For the first time since Liberation [from Ottoman rule in 1878], all Greek homes fly the flag in honor of a popular Bulgarian, albeit anti-Greek, celebration!"[173] The sarcastic tone of the comment confirms that the primary goal of such actions was to avoid trouble, without any lasting implications for the collective standing of the Greeks. Behaviors during the pogroms reveal that violence had a dual role: some were encouraged to choose permanently between wavering identities that they had previously navigated, and others were compelled to disguise their nationality temporarily to avoid impending risk.

The conversion of individuals, neighborhoods, and entire villages from the Patriarchate to the Exarchate exemplified the ambiguous meaning of

171. Ibid., 22 July 1906.
172. TsDA, f. 166k, op. 1. a.e 1010, l. 41. Greek residents of Stanimaka, 26 July 1906.
173. *Den*, 18 August 1906.

religious side-switching when it occurred under pressure. During the looting in Plovdiv/Philippoupolis, followers of the Patriarchate in the nearby city of Pazardzhik recognized the Exarchate and handed over their church to the Bulgarian community.[174] In the village of Ak Bunar, after the visit of an "anti-Greek commission," 180 heads of household recognized the Bulgarian Church, renamed their church and school, and attended a sermon conducted in Bulgarian.[175] In the village of Kâlâldzhik (today Drianovets) near Kavakli, seventy-six villagers "of Greek nationality" declared: "from now on, no one among us . . . should be considered Greek, as we are all Bulgarians." To prove their commitment, they repudiated the Patriarchate, recognized the Exarchate, promised to appoint Bulgarian priests and teachers, and proposed to rename the village Drianovo.[176] These occurrences did not signify that people's national feelings transformed overnight but rather demonstrated the performative function of nationality as an emergency identity. Because belonging to the Patriarchate constituted the main marker of Greekness in Bulgaria, switching to the Exarchate served as a defensive mechanism. It is questionable whether such proclamations changed the way individuals actually felt about their place in Bulgarian society. When confronted with imminent emergency situations, however, people knew how to make strategic choices that preserved their physical safety, guarded their economic interests, or secured their social peace.

Furthermore, such religious "conversions" were often reversed, proving that, to avoid trouble, some people only temporarily transferred their churches over to the Exarchate. The most controversial switching from the Patriarchate to the Exarchate occurred in Mesemvria on 30 July 1906, the day of the Anhialo/Anchialos fire, when 226 families signed a petition requesting that they be transferred to the authority of the Bulgarian Church. In October 185 of the original petitioners declared that they had felt pressured, repudiated their previous decision, and demanded the restoration of the Greek churches in their town. The Bulgarian authorities, however, maintained that the Greeks had signed the petition voluntarily.[177] Still, official pressures were undeniable. Police officers prevented Greek priests from conducting services in their churches, but assisted members of the Bulgarian clergy when they traveled to nearby towns and villages. Authorities also ignored the Greeks' complaints when Bulgarian nationalists threatened that Mesemvria "would share the fate of Anhialo." Because of the inability to recover their churches, the Greeks of Mesemvria split into two groups: some inhabitants supported the conversion to the Exarchate and hoped for

174. Ibid., 22 July 1906.

175. Ibid., 30 July and 3 August 1906.

176. TsDA, f. 166k, op. 1. a.e. 1010, l. 13. Protocol of a meeting in Kâzâldzhik, 2 August 1906.

177. TsDA, f. 166k, op. 1. a.e. 1012, ll. 197, 200, 335–338. Petition of citizens of Mesemvria, 29 October 1906; Bulgarian Church Board in Mesemvria to MVRI, 9 October 1906; Burgas District Chief to MVRI, 24 January 1907; Anhialo County Chief to MVRNZ, 10 January 1907.

normalization, and others opposed these arrangements and preferred to emigrate.[178]

Policies of nationalization had a dual function; by simultaneously embracing primordial and constructionist ideas of nationality, they not only affirmed the right of the majority to dictate how the nation-state evolved but also allowed the nation to embrace new members if the latter agreed to follow the rules of the national community. In this context, national loyalty acquired different meanings for different individuals and communities. The sense of group solidarity based on nationality intermittently functioned as an important referent of belonging, and though some individuals molded their collective affiliations under pressure, others unbendingly stuck to their beliefs. A diversity of opinions and experiences existed, from the government to church authorities to nationalist leaders to the views of ordinary people. The 1906 events compelled each of these groups to articulate its own vision of the nation, and, as debates continued, all parties realized that national unity did not exist.

A Template for Population Management

After 1906 both the Bulgarian and Greek governments implemented policies that systematically addressed the status of the Bulgarian Greeks. While Bulgarian officials sought the assimilation of the minority, their Greek colleagues encouraged the immigration and integration of their "co-nationals" into the existing state structures. In many ways the responses of the two countries to the anti-Greek events created a template for future action, since the management of targeted populations, which would become a main concern for both administrations a decade later, was essentially practiced on a small scale. To state the obvious parallels, in the interwar period Greek politicians strove to accommodate more than one million refugees arriving from the Ottoman Empire while their Bulgarian counterparts articulated assimilation policies targeting their Muslim minorities.

The 1906 anti-Greek movement had important consequences for the process of national consolidation in Bulgaria. The most apparent results were the decreased prominence of the Greeks and the partial expropriation of their substantial communal property, mainly churches and school buildings, which the administration nationalized for the use of all its residents. Officials redefined the status of the population, transforming the Greek *religious* communities into Greek *national* communities and treating their members according to a new majority-minority dichotomy. On a broader level, the anti-Greek events redefined the national agenda of the Bulgarian state and set the stage for more uncompromising ideological doctrines and harsher policies throughout the twentieth century. After independence in

178. IAIE, 1907, 3.1.1. Memo of IE, 6 February 1907; Anhialo Police Chief to the Mesemvria mayor, 27 January 1907; Sliven Parish District to the Mesemvria mayor, 22 January 1907.

1908 officials imposed a new national culture and a new pattern of national coexistence in Bulgaria that applied not only to the Greeks but was expanded to other populations: at the demand of the majority, the minority became an explicit object of nationalization policies that sought to transform it into loyal Bulgarian subjects.

Whether politicians used the anti-Greek movement as a blueprint for later national projects is unclear, but, following the 1906 events, they tested policies that taught them valuable lessons. Officials realized, for example, that some segments of the population were more prone to assimilation than others and that sustained nationalization was the key to their national conversion. They also understood that the economic side of national persuasion played an important role in people's decisions to support official policies. Further, authorities confirmed that within the national community there were various degrees of national commitment that had to be considered when formulating sweeping national policies. In many ways developments following the 1906 events reaffirmed that people could both be firmly rooted in their ethnic origins and flexible about their group belonging. Officials developed policies that emphasized a primordial understanding of the national community, but the execution of these policies depended on individuals' tendency to mold their behavior in dynamic ways.

National policies had mixed results and produced unintended consequences. During the anti-Greek movement Bulgarians condescendingly remarked that many Greeks "d[id] not care about the Megali Idea . . . but, given reasonable assimilation policies, would adjust to their Bulgarian fellow citizens."[179] Certainly some Greeks decided to join the Bulgarian national community after the pogroms. But the reverse process of Hellenization of Bulgarians continued to worry nationalists. In 1906 the chief of the Bulgarian military unit in Stanimaka/Stenimachos, entrusted with Bulgarizing the Greeks in his locality, sought a transfer, explaining: "Instead of my Bulgarizing you, I am close to becoming Hellenized [*anti na sas ekvoulgariso kondevo na exellinisto*]. My children, who play with your children, do not want to speak Bulgarian and consider Greek their language. How can I stay any longer?"[180] A staunch defender of the Bulgarian cause, the officer experienced firsthand the dilemma of nationhood: he diligently pursued his mission of transforming the Greeks into Bulgarians but his own children also faced the "danger" of becoming Greeks. Though he was a devoted Bulgarian actively supporting the national cause, the chief also believed that nationhood was not cast in stone and could move in unpredictable directions. People's allegiances were contingent upon too many factors to predict the outcome of nationalization.

179. *Den*, 20 August 1906.

180. Kostas Daphnis, *Apostolos Doxiadis: O agonistis kai o anthropos* (Athens, 1974), 197 n. 28.

Besides, what seemed to be a successful national conversion could rapidly transform because of changes in the broader political context. As early as 1907 Greeks and Gagauz who had become members of the Exarchate in 1906 requested to be returned to the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate, invited the Greek priest back to their churches, and re-baptized all the children that had been christened by Bulgarian priests.[181] National activists could not assume that their violent actions had permanently changed the way people thought about their collective identifications. Gradually, after 1906, the Bulgarian Greeks recovered their prominence. The frustration of Bulgarian activists with Greek communal solidarity was evident in Anhialo/Anchialos. In 1909, three years after fire had destroyed the city, the local newspaper *Kraĭ* remarked: "Our Greeks sing the old song . . . but in a different key . . . [They] do not recognize that they reside in the Kingdom of Bulgaria. They sleep in its boundaries, but they dream of Hellas. They enjoy the Bulgarian lifestyle, but they think and believe that they breathe Greek air."[182] After its initial manifestation of acquiescence to the official national cause, the population reverted to its "original" identity. Nationality functioned as both a constant and a variable: it created loyalties and coalitions based on what seemed to be outwardly stable group identities, but in the changing context of national struggles and social demands these identities fluctuated. "Pure" and "loyal" Bulgarians or Greeks existed only in a certain moment, and a united nation lasted only until new circumstances created new patterns of behavior and new definitions of group identity.

181. IAIE, 1907, 3.1.1. Undated translation from *Vecherna Poshta,* found in a report of the EPP to IE, 13 February 1907; DA-Varna, f. 83k-1, a.e. 26, ll. 6, 8, 9, 55–56. Letters of Greek priests from June and July 1908, found in Andreas Lyberatos and Varban Todorov, *Opis na arhivnite kolektsii i knigi na grâtski ezik v grad Varna* (Sofia, 2006), 110.

182. *Kraĭ,* 3 October 1909.

3

Nationality and Shifting Borders, 1912–1918

In November 1918 an unusual scene unfolded in the village of Dzhaferliĭ (today Kichevo) north of Varna. Greek officers arrived in an automobile decorated with a Greek flag and convened a meeting with village elders. Headed by a confident colonel named Konstantinos Mazarakis-Ainian, a former Greek fighter in Macedonia and current head of the Greek Military Mission in Bulgaria, the officers inquired about the local church and school, and asked if the villagers had any complaints regarding the Bulgarian government. The Colonel explained that after the war Greece had become a great power, Bulgaria was expected to lose more territories, the Greek Navy would be sailing in the Black Sea, and everything would go well for the Greeks in Bulgaria. Mazarakis exclaimed: "Long live Greece!" and removed the portraits of King Ferdinand and Prime Minister Radoslavov from the mayor's home. He assured the elders that he would pay "Greek silver" for requisitioned property not compensated by Bulgarian officials and promised to send a Greek teacher and priest to the villagers "if they wanted to become Greeks."

Mazarakis, however, faced several setbacks. The villagers were Gagauz, a Turkish-speaking Christian population that had recognized the Patriarchate until 1906 but had embraced the Bulgarian Church thereafter. The elders spoke no Greek, and the Colonel had to use an interpreter to communicate with them. He was particularly annoyed by his encounter with the Bulgarian priest Ottsev who was fluent in Greek but ignored suggestions to adopt that language in church services. The priest also challenged the Colonel on the thorny issue of Macedonia. When Mazarakis called him "a pure Greek" (*chist grâk*) because he was born in Macedonia, Ottsev responded that he was "a pure Bulgarian . . . educated in Greek but ordained . . . by the Exarchate." The villagers also hesitated. Some confirmed that "they had

been Greeks several years prior" and welcomed a Greek school and priest. Yet others responded, "Whether under Bulgaria or under Greece, it is all the same, as long as [we are] not under Romania," alluding to the border change in 1913 that assigned nearby southern Dobrudzha to Romania. Colonel Mazarakis concluded the meeting by remarking, "These people are true Greeks but they are afraid [to show it]," and thanked the multitude, through an interpreter, for being good patriots.[1]

The encounter between Mazarakis and the Gagauz villagers can best be understood in the context of the preceding six years, when the Balkans experienced the Balkan Wars and World War I. Shifting borders, successive administrations, competing educational and religious institutions, determined national activists, population exchanges, and national conversions marked the period between 1912 and 1918. The process of "ethnic unmixing" associated with the breakdown of the multiethnic empires started earlier in the Balkans than in the rest of eastern Europe. In 1912 the First Balkan War inaugurated a period of ethnic cleansing in the entire region, which had disastrous consequences for a large number of Muslims (mainly Turks) who had fled Christian countries.[2] The subsequent Second Balkan War and World War I also affected the Christian populations inhabiting the contested Ottoman territories of Macedonia and Thrace, which the Balkan countries were trying to split up. The shifting alliances and prolonged fighting from 1912 to 1918 led to numerous population movements in an attempt to purge disputed territories of unwanted minorities.[3] As people fled their birthplace and new national bureaucracies replaced the old imperial system, the diversely populated Ottoman provinces underwent a turbulent process of becoming homogeneous national territories.

This chapter examines how, as borders repeatedly shifted, officials implemented diverse policies of national homogenization and people faced fundamental changes in their collective identifications. Between 1912 and 1918 Bulgarian territory changed four times, and each of these territorial changes resulted in extensive population movements and nationalization campaigns.[4] Many of the new inhabitants of the kingdom, previously accustomed to

1. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 3, a.e. 1382, ll. 25–26, 60. Priest Ottsev to the Bishop of Varna and Preslav, 23 November/10 December 1919; Varna District Requisitions Officer to MV, 31 December 1918.

2. From 1912 to 1920, according to official Ottoman statistics, some 414,000 Muslims migrated to Anatolia and Eastern Thrace from various territories in the Balkans (Macedonia, Thrace, Bosnia, and Albania); some 250,000 migrated in 1914 alone. See Justin MaCarthy, *Death and Exile: The Ethnic Cleansing of Ottoman Muslims, 1821–1922* (Princeton, 1995), 156–164; Kemal Karpat, *Ottoman Population, 1830–1914: Demographic and Social Characteristics* (Madison, 1985), 75.

3. Alexandros A. Pallis, "Racial Migrations in the Balkans during the Years 1912–1924," *Geographical Journal* 66 (1925): 315–331; Dimitrije Djordjević, "Migrations during the 1912–1913 Balkan Wars and World War One," in Ninić, *Migrations in Balkan History*, 115–129.

4. This trend is best illustrated in the Bulgarian zeal to convert to Christianity the Pomaks, the Bulgarian-speaking Muslims, who were considered ethnic Bulgarians who had forgotten their "true" nationality. See Velichko Georgiev and Staĭko Trifonov, eds., *Pokrâstvaneto na bâlgarite mohamedani 1912–1913. Dokumenti* (Sofia, 1995).

the ethnic diversity typical of the Ottoman Empire, were transformed into minorities. The new minorities often became refugees, and these refugees exerted pressures on other minority populations in their new nation-states, demonstrating the interrelatedness of homogenizing campaigns and minority policies in the entire area. Because of the scale of population management, individuals faced a complex dilemma as they experienced the transition from empire to nation-state: whether to resettle in territories reflecting their ethnicity or adjust to nationalization in their native places.

The successive Bulgarian governments dealt with two groups of Greek nationals: the Greeks in the "old lands" that had comprised Bulgaria in 1885 and the Greeks in the "new lands" that the country incorporated in 1913. As a result, Bulgarian minority policies varied according to locality. The Greeks in the "old lands" were a population that had been Bulgarian subjects coming to terms with the nationalizing policies in Bulgaria for several decades. The Greeks in the "new lands," however, had transformed from Ottoman to Bulgarian subjects and faced rigorous Bulgarian homogenization endeavors that were new to them. The Bulgarian administration juggled two sets of policies against Greek nationals. Although officials abolished the autonomous status of the "old" Greeks and seized their remaining churches and schools, they still allowed the population to stay in its areas. In contrast, the administration in the newly incorporated territories handled the "new" Greeks with less flexibility and encouraged, if not impelled, their flight. But the guiding principles of national homogenization were not set in stone; even in the "new lands," officials in some cases enacted firm policies of ethnic dilution and replaced the Greeks with Bulgarian refugees, and in others they adopted more trivial everyday pressures to convince the population to adopt the "correct" national cause.

Beyond the geographical distinction between "old" and "new" Greeks, what constituted a "Greek" remained a contested issue. In "old" Bulgaria, Bulgarian officials generally considered the members of the communities that had remained under the Patriarchate after 1878 to be "Greeks." In "new" Bulgaria, however, distinguishing a Greek from a Bulgarian was more difficult because many individuals had fluid identities. Some Greeks solidly supported the Greek cause and hastily fled their areas after they were incorporated into Bulgaria. Others felt attached to the Greek idea but were willing to live under the new Bulgarian authorities. But there were also numerous grâkomani, the Bulgarian speakers who recognized the Patriarchate, and Bulgarian officials were extremely anxious over their status. Viewing these populations to be "Grecisized" (*pogârcheni*), the administration initiated systematic policies trying to undercut their Greek affiliations. Some Bulgarian-speaking Patriarchists left their place of birth together with the "pure" Greeks, choosing to become Greeks, whereas others, prone to "rediscovering" their "true" heritage, displayed a willingness to become Bulgarians.

This difficulty in defining nationality allowed national activism to play an important role during the wars. National brokers knew that nationality

was a matter of persuasion and persistence, and this approach informed the policies of all parties involved in the military conflicts, population movements, nationalization policies, and diplomatic negotiations of the wartime decade. Because national propaganda, which used black-and-white rhetoric to portray the enemy in categorical terms, was a powerful tool for mobilization, nationalists sought to impose this clear-cut language on the entire population. But the ability of national arguments to recruit converts was limited, because, in the context of emergency and constant warfare, people strategically considered their affiliations to one country or the other. Even during troubled times, the population was sometimes able to ignore, silence, or maneuver its nationality to escape the nightmare of war. Despite six years of military conflicts over national priorities, people subscribed to various views regarding the importance of nationhood to their personal lives. As the dynamics of military conflict changed, political alliances disintegrated and friends turned into foes, the relationship between ethnic groups on the ground vacillated between cooperation, indifference, and hostility. This chapter examines the complex relationship between nationality and war, and explores the many ways in which national activists and ordinary people negotiated how to translate shifting borders into firm identities.

Wars and People

In 1912 Bulgaria, Greece, Serbia, and Montenegro signed several agreements with the purpose of splitting up the Ottoman territories following a successful military campaign against the "sick man of Europe." When the First Balkan War started on 8 October 1912 the allies in the Balkan League began their onslaught on the Ottoman Empire, with Bulgarian advances into Thrace, and Greek and Serbian operations in Macedonia, Epirus, and Albania. The First Balkan War ended on 17 May 1913 with the London Treaty, which ceded to the Christian allies all Ottoman territories north of the Midia-Enos line, with the exception of Albania. The countries expected to divide these territories according to prior agreements, but tensions developed between Bulgaria, on the one hand, and Greece and Serbia, on the other, over the partition of Macedonia. The Second Balkan War, also known as the Inter-Allied War, started on 16 June 1913 with a Bulgarian campaign against its former Greek and Serbian allies in Macedonia. Two weeks later the Romanian Army invaded Bulgaria from the north while the Ottoman military attacked from the south, forcing the Bulgarian troops to fight on three fronts. The Bucharest Treaty of 28 July 1913 confirmed the Bulgarian defeat by splitting up most of Macedonia between Greece and Serbia, and granting southern Dobrudzha to Romania. In addition, after the Ottoman offensive in the summer of 1913, the Bulgarian military lost control of significant territories in Thrace. The Treaty of Istanbul, of 30 September 1913, outlined the new Bulgarian-Turkish border, returning

to the Ottoman Empire Eastern Thrace, including the Edirne area, while ceding to Bulgaria Western Thrace.[5]

Bulgaria's entry into World War I represented an attempt to rectify the consequences of what the country experienced as a "national catastrophe" of the Second Balkan War. In the Balkans World War I was in many ways a Third Balkan War, which continued the struggle to split up the European provinces of the Ottoman Empire.[6] After generous German promises for Bulgarian territorial acquisitions in Macedonia, the country joined the Central Powers in September 1915. In December Bulgarian military units commenced attack on the Salonica front in Greek Eastern Macedonia, taking the important cities of Drama, Kavala, and Siar/Serres and occupying the rest of the area by early 1916. Greece entered the war on the side of the Entente only in June 1917, when the defeat of the Central Powers in the Balkans was evident. With the exhausting war operations and its weakening military potential, Bulgaria signed the Salonica Armistice on 29 September 1918 and humbly awaited the Paris Peace Conference.[7]

Population movements followed the outcome of the military operations (see map 2).[8] With the Second Balkan War fifteen thousand Bulgarians escaped the Greek administration in the Salonica region of Macedonia (mainly the vicinities of Kukush/Kilkis and Siar/Serres), and some five thousand Greeks fled the Macedonian districts under Bulgarian control (the areas around Melnik/Meleniko and Strumitsa/Stroumnitsa). After the Bucharest Treaty of 1913, more Bulgarians from (now Greek) Macedonia resettled into (now Bulgarian) Western Thrace, and Greeks from (Bulgarian) Thrace moved to (Greek) Macedonia; approximately forty thousand Greeks fled Bulgarian Western Thrace alone. During the Great War Bulgarian officials interned some thirty-six thousand Greek inhabitants of Bulgarian-occupied Aegean Macedonia in Bulgaria and settled thirty-nine thousand Bulgarian migrants in the area. These Bulgarians, many of them refugees from the Balkan Wars who had returned to their native areas, fled back to Bulgaria in 1918. In the same year Greeks who had fled Western Thrace in 1913

5. Jelavich, *The Establishment of the Balkan National States*, 216–221, 284–297.

6. For the "Third Balkan War," see Misha Glenny, *The Balkans: Nationalism, War, and the Great Powers, 1804–1999* (New York, 2000), 307–343.

7. R. J. Crampton, *A Short History of Bulgaria* (Cambridge, 1997), 140–147; and Jelavich, *The Establishment of the Balkan National States*, 284–297. The Bulgarian military also participated in the campaigns against Serbia and placed Vardar (Serbian) Macedonia under its administration, as promised in its negotiations with the Central Powers.

8. During the First Balkan War some 178,000 Muslims fled the advancing Balkan armies, mainly in Thrace. With the Second Balkan War, the Ottoman army seized territories previously under Bulgarian control and expelled or massacred some seventy thousand Bulgarians in Eastern Thrace. When Eastern Thrace and the Edirne area were given back to the Ottoman Empire, some forty-nine thousand Turks and forty-seven thousand Bulgarians had fled in both directions. See Pallis, "Racial Migrations in the Balkans"; Djordjević, "Migrations during the 1912–1913 Balkan Wars and World War One"; and Alexandros A. Pallis, *Statistiki meleti peri ton philetikon metanastevseon Makedonias kai Thrakis kata tin periodo 1912–1924* (Athens, 1925).

or 1914 returned to their native places after the Bulgarian administration evacuated the area. People living in Thrace and Macedonia resettled multiple times as the successive armies and administrations entered their areas and initiated chain reactions of human displacement.

These trends dramatically affected the way that the civilian population experienced the wars. Understandably the new and old minorities were in the most precarious position. In the old lands of Bulgaria, the situation of the Greeks fluctuated according to the dynamics of the military conflicts. Whereas during the First Balkan War Bulgarians saw the Greeks as allies and friends, the notion of a "national catastrophe" after the Second Balkan War and the perception of the Greek "theft" of Macedonia, in particular, created a climate of extreme animosity that allowed nationalist outbursts against the Greeks. In the newly incorporated territories, Bulgarian officials showed even less leniency because they competed with Greek politicians for these lands and felt compelled to quickly change the ethnic picture there. Policies varied according to location, but, overall, the new national administrations began building their infrastructures as soon as they entered the new territories, initiating policies of national homogenization on an unprecedented scale.[9] Similar to their Serbian, Greek, and Romanian counterparts, Bulgarian authorities shared the belief that, given favorable circumstances and efficient policies, they could "fix" the ethnic picture in any area.

Ambivalent Reconciliation

In 1911 the governments of Bulgaria, Greece, Serbia, and Montenegro developed a consensus that only the combined effort of all Balkan states would end the suffering of the Christian population in the Ottoman European provinces. Throughout 1912 the four countries engaged in a series of diplomatic initiatives to define the parameters of their future cooperation in the Balkan League. The official propaganda propounded by the Balkan allies sought to harmonize their national ideologies, foster cooperation between their peoples, and highlight the positive outcome of a future war for each nation.[10] The capstone of this rapprochement was Christian solidarity against the "common enemy," the Muslim Ottoman Turks. Yet an "exasperating ambivalence" characterized the prospect for common action because there was often a disparity between the official promulgations of pan-Balkan solidarity and the concrete measures undertaken to fulfill the promise of reconciliation.[11]

9. For comparative studies of these policies in a pan-European perspective, see Brubaker, "The Aftermath of Empire and the Unmixing of Peoples"; and Weitz, "From the Vienna to the Paris System."

10. For propaganda, see Ivan Ilchev, *Rodinata mi prava ili ne! Vânshnopoliticheskata propaganda na balkanskite strani 1821–1923* (Sofia, 1995).

11. Diana Mishkova, "Friends Turned Foes: Bulgarian National Attitudes to Neighbours," in *Pride and Prejudice: National Stereotypes in 19th and 20th Century Europe East to West*, Central European University History Department (Budapest 1995), 174.

The Bulgarian and Greek governments, headed, respectively, by Ivan Geshov and Elevtherios Venizelos, commenced policies to mitigate tensions between the two countries but found it challenging to overcome mutual suspicion. The two administrations considered ending the schism between the Patriarchate and Exarchate, which had soured relations since 1872, but failed to convince ecclesiastical leaders to commit to concrete reforms that would resolve the religious controversy.[12] This lingering distrust also limited the impact of grassroots initiatives that embraced reconciliation. When Bulgarian students and professors visited the Greek capital in April 1911, orators proclaimed the "friendly and sincere feelings of the Bulgarian people to the Greeks" and recent emigrants from Bulgaria eagerly participated in public events celebrating the improved relations between the two countries. However, Bulgarian diplomats disapproved of the "youthful idealism" and "politique des places publiques" initiated by the students and opined that national agitation was official business for "responsible figures" that were "authorized by the Bulgarian people."[13] Similar uneasiness was obvious in the Ottoman provinces that the two countries prepared to split up. When antagonism between Greeks and Bulgarians abated as a result of the alliance between the two countries, Greek diplomats stationed in Thrace recommended that the Greek-Bulgarian rapprochement should not be advertised among the population because "the patriotism of the residents has not reached the desired degree."[14] In Bulgaria the Exarchist bishop of Varna, a staunch fighter against Greek influence in the area, eloquently expressed the contradictory message of desired friendly cooperation but lack of trust when he characterized the closer relations between populations in mixed districts "not as a truce but as a cease-fire between two warring parties."[15]

In 1911 leaders of the Greek communities in Bulgaria judged the time to be ripe for requesting a change in the minority's legal status. Bulgarians had expropriated many communal buildings during the anti-Greek movement of 1906, but some thirty-six churches and chapels remained in Greek hands.[16] Exarchist leaders continued to see the presence of Patriarchist priests in Bulgaria as anti-canonical and urged the Bulgarian government to transfer all Greeks to their religious authority. However, the de facto existence of churches with Patriarchist priests in multiple locations provided assurance to Greek leaders that they could secure religious concessions. At the same time they nurtured the hope that Greek schools would reopen if the government

12. IAIE, 1912, 89.3. EPS to IE, 24 May 1912.

13. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 2, a.e 960, ll. 3, 37–43. BLA to MVRI, 17 February and 10 April 1911.

14. IAIE, 1911, 21.2. Consulate in Edirne to IE, 10 February 1911.

15. Mariana Krâsteva, "Grâtsko-bâlgarskata tsârkovna razpra kato iavlenie v obshtestvenia zhivot na Varna," *Duhovna kultura* 75 (1995): 25.

16. IAIE, 1912, 115.4. EPS to IE, 10 December 1911.

granted to the Greeks the same rights to educational self-rule that applied to other minority communities in Bulgaria.[17]

In the spirit of Bulgarian-Greek cooperation, Prime Minister Geshov decided that the establishment of private schools for the needs of the Greek population was a reasonable compromise. On 10 March 1912 the Parliament amended Articles 368 and 371 of the Education Law, expanding regulations related to the organization and funding of Muslim, Jewish, and Armenian schools to the Greeks. For Greek politicians, these changes meant the first step toward restoring Greek communal life.[18] With the beginning of the school year in September 1912, the Greek communities prepared for the elections of the new school boards required by the law. Members of the Plovdiv/Philippoupolis board met with Prime Minister Geshov, expressing their optimism regarding the reconstitution of educational institutions in their city and the normalization of their situation in general. Though doubting that all the expropriated schools would be recovered, Greek diplomats welcomed even the partial return of communal buildings, as this established a precedent for the return of all properties.[19]

Bulgarian authorities were less flexible in the religious sphere, insisting that the existence of parallel Orthodox institutions and the presence of Patriarchist bishops in Bulgaria were illegal. Nonetheless, as Easter approached in 1912, Greek diplomats requested the return of Greek churches to allow the population to celebrate this most important of Orthodox Christian holidays with sermons in its mother tongue.[20] These initiatives intensified when the Balkan War started on 8 October, because the military success of the "Christian brotherly alliance" against the Ottoman Empire provided the Greeks with political ammunition to further the cause of the Greek communities in Bulgaria. In December, alluding to recent developments, leaders started a new campaign for Greek-language sermons and the return of churches expropriated during the 1906 anti-Greek movement.[21] These actions yielded only partial results. Authorities lifted the travel ban that they had imposed after 1906 on Vicar Photios, the only representative of the Patriarchate still in Bulgarian territory, and allowed him to tour Patriarchist dioceses in the Plovdiv/Philippoupolis area. But the government had no intention of returning the Greek churches in their entirety; though officials averted their eyes when Greek priests ignored the ban on

17. IAIE, 1912, 115.4. EPS to IE, 21 January 1912; "Measures to Secure the National Character of the Greek Population under Bulgarian Rule," 17 July 1913.

18. IAIE, 1912, 115.4. Telegram of EPS, 10 March 1912; "Measures to Secure the National Character of the Greek Population under Bulgarian Rule," 17 July 1913.

19. IAIE, 1912, 115.4. Consulate in Salonica and EPS to IE, 27 August; 2, 7, 9, 10, and 14 September 1912.

20. IAIE, 1912, 115.4. EPPh to IE, 10 March 1912.

21. IAIE, 1912, 124.7. EPPh to EPS, 22 December 1912; Photios to Geshov, 22 December 1912; note of Krionas, 23 December 1912.

Greek-language sermons, they did not pressure the Exarchist clergy to return the previously seized properties.[22]

The allied victories in the First Balkan War promised to improve the status of the Greeks in Bulgaria, and, while the war lasted, Greek representatives remained hopeful that the Bulgarian government would restore Greek autonomy. The leader of the Greek community in Burgas/Pirgos emphasized "the shoulder-to-shoulder fight for freedom and human rights [*svoboda i choveshki pravdini*]" of the Bulgarians and Greeks and asked Prime Minister Geshov "to finally cure the grim signs of bygone fraternal quarrels and discord" by returning the church to the Greek community.[23] Allusions to the victorious war, in which many Bulgarian Greeks fought in the Bulgarian Army against the "common enemy," provided a discursive tool to convince hesitant bureaucrats of the merit of Greek requests. But, inevitably, the success of reform depended on the outcome of the war, and the Greeks recognized their continued ambivalent status in Bulgaria. While the Bulgarian government supported moderate changes rhetorically, authorities returned no communal buildings to the Greeks.[24] Any implementation of the reforms awaited fulfillment following the turmoil of war.

The "Treacherous Allies" in "Old" Bulgaria

The situation of the Greeks in Bulgaria changed drastically after the Second Balkan War. Because of the Bucharest Treaty, which divided up most of Macedonia between Greece and Serbia, Bulgarians saw the outcome of the wars as a "national catastrophe" that deprived the country of territories rightfully belonging to Bulgaria. Bulgarians blamed this disaster on the perfidious actions of their "treacherous allies" (*sâiuznitsi-predateli*), the former Greek and Serbian allies from the First Balkan War who joined with the Ottoman Empire to defeat Bulgaria in the Second Balkan War. This perception transformed the dynamics of majority-minority relations in Bulgaria to the detriment of the Greek population. Whereas during the summer of 1913 the inhabitants of the Kingdom of Greece experienced the triumph of victory that brought with it the incorporation of large territories into the country, including a significant part of Macedonia, the situation of the Bulgarian Greeks was tenuous as they personified the "treacherous ally." Bulgarians referred to the Greeks as "vile, insidious, treacherous, predatory, bestial, [and] ferocious," calling them "frauds, bandits, [or] ghastly criminals."[25] A Bulgarian military officer summarily expressed the prevailing attitude: "The meaning of the expression 'you are a Greek!' is 'you

22. TsDA, f. 166k, op. 1, a.e. 1013, ll. 175–182. Undated list of correspondence regarding the anti-Greek movement.

23. IAIE, 1912, 124.7. Note of Krionas, 23 December 1912.

24. Episkopos Eirinoupoleos Photios, *Episima engrapha,* 439–440.

25. Mishkova, "Friends Turned Foes," 178.

are a fraud, as are all Greeks!'"[26] Because of the Greek victories against the Bulgarian Army in the Second Balkan War, many Bulgarians saw the Greeks in Bulgaria as traitors to their native land and held them responsible, collectively, for Bulgaria's misfortunes.

The Greek communities in Bulgaria came under constant surveillance during the Second Balkan War. Because of suspicion that Greek leaders, including members of the remaining Patriarchist clergy, could act as spies, officials interned them in locations in northern Bulgaria.[27] When the internees returned months later, they found their abandoned properties devastated by thieves, requisitioned by the Bulgarian military or civil administration, or allotted to Bulgarian refugees. Authorities imposed arbitrary curfews and prohibitions on some Greeks, while refugees abused others or unlawfully occupied their properties.[28] Officials pressured civil servants to declare Bulgarian nationality and dismissed those who refused to comply. National activists also urged the boycott of Greek merchants, artisans, and members of the professions, forcing many to consider whether their continued presence in Bulgaria remained economically viable. School inspectors closed secret Greek schools, forced Greek children to attend Bulgarian institutions, and imposed fines on parents that disobeyed.[29] Municipal authorities enforced Greek-language prohibitions, mandated the exclusive use of Bulgarian in commercial transactions and public services, and threatened to fine those who used a different language at work. Refugee associations organized rallies protesting the Greek "terror" in Macedonia and singled out the Greeks as the enemy within.[30] These conditions not only made Greeks an easy target for nationalist organizations demanding revenge, but they also allowed opportunists to take advantage of their fragile situation.

Another dilemma arose regarding military service. As Bulgarian citizens, many Greek males were drafted into the Bulgarian Army, and during the Second Balkan War they found themselves at war with their co-nationals in the Greek Kingdom. Many Greeks died fighting for the Bulgarian military, as is evident in a service conducted in Varna in December 1913 honoring fifty nine Greeks who had perished in the wars of the previous two years.[31] With the Second Balkan War, authorities sued many Greeks who had previously donated money to the Greek Army, accusing them of "financially assisting the enemy." Military officials knowingly conscripted Greeks

26. Ts. Dreharov, *The Greek Villainy of 1913* (Asenovgrad, 1915), quoted in Mishkova, "Friends Turned Foes," 181.

27. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 22, a.e. 12, l. 122. Plovdiv District Chief to MVRI, 5 August 1913.

28. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 12, a.e. 450, 451, 453.

29. Epitropi ton ek Mitilini Mikrasiaton Prosphigon, *Oi Diogmoi ton Ellinon en Thraki kai Mikrasia. Avthentikai ektheseis kai episima keimena* (Athens, 1915), 31–52; Georgios Megas, *Anatoliki Romilia* (Athens, 1945), 37; Episkopos Eirinoupoleos Photios, *Episima engrapha,* 440.

30. See Krâsteva, "Grâtsko-bâlgarskata tsârkovna razpra," 26.

31. DA-Varna, f. 83k, op. 1, a.e. 52, found in Lyberatos and Todorov, *Opis na arhivnite kolektsii,* 147.

who held Greek citizenship despite the fact that they were exempt from military service. For that reason, numerous Greeks deserted the army and fled the country, or attempted to avoid military service by changing their citizenship.[32] Such cases were particularly prevalent in border areas, from which many young people escaped to Greece while their parents remained in Bulgaria.[33] The Ministry of War was constantly concerned that defectors, familiar with Bulgarian military organization and the strategic border regions, formed spy networks, spread rumors, and lobbied for the ceding of their areas to Greece.[34]

Apostolos Doxiadis from Stanimaka/Stenimachos recorded in his wartime diary the anxieties of Greek soldiers in the Bulgarian Army. As a military doctor in Thrace during the First Balkan War, he uneasily followed news from the Greek front and felt "saddened because I am unable to participate in a [Greek] campaign and experience the entry of the Greek Army into a Greek city." Unable to receive accurate information about the war, on 15 May 1913 Doxiadis prophetically wrote:

> I have remained speechless for many months. Every day, I am waiting for the peace but it does not come. . . . New difficulties, worse than the previous ones, await our army and especially the Greeks. After the end of military operations the Turks ceased being the enemy. They are considered allies. The Greek soldiers . . . from the Black Sea coast were transferred [to a different unit] . . . and their [Bulgarian] officer . . . spoke the most offensive words against their nation. . . . And these people fought . . . heroically, falling victims of imprudent strategy [and] winning glory not for the Greek but for the Bulgarian Army . . . [During one battle], Greeks from Stanimaka were forced to face the Greek Army's fire. But these people continue to be Greeks.

These words show the fragility of any sort of cooperation between Greeks and Bulgarians even during the First Balkan War. During the Second Balkan War Bulgarian commanders transferred many Greeks to the Serbian or Romanian fronts farther away from Greek positions. On 25 June 1913 Doxiadis was frantic: "I have no idea what is happening around me. . . . I learned from the newspaper that Greece had declared war [on Bulgaria] on behalf of Serbia, Montenegro, and Greece. God be with us." Ultimately the doctor returned safely to his family, but when Bulgaria sided with the Central Powers in the Great War, Doxiadis, unwilling to repeat the same experience, fled to Greece as a fugitive in 1915, abandoning his ailing father

32. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 21, a.e. 2176, 2175.

33. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 22, a.e. 14, ll. 6, 7. BGKO to MVRI, 22 April; response of MVRI, 26 April 1914, concerning Greeks in Ortakeuy.

34. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 22, a.e. 17, ll. 1–3. MV to MVRI, 23 February 1915, concerning the defection and spying of Greeks during the Second Balkan War, including a list of ninety-seven Greek defectors from Stanimaka/Stenimachos currently in Greece.

and a promising career in Bulgaria.[35] His case was not typical of all Greeks, as Doxiadis was a prominent activist who did not share the attitude of more nationally ambivalent individuals. But the physician's dilemma reveals the precarious situation of many Greeks, once allies in war but now collectively branded as traitors.

Despite the distrust and discrimination that the population experienced, very few Greeks left Bulgaria during the wars. According to Greek statistical data from July 1914, the refugees who arrived from "old" Bulgaria to Salonica amounted to 163 families composed of 486 members.[36] Additional data from 1916 indicated that the people who resettled from "old" Bulgaria to Macedonia consisted of 241 families with 828 members.[37] Although migration did occur, it did so only occasionally. The reluctance of the Greeks to leave their native home was indicative of the complex factors that shaped emigration decisions. Because of their experiences in 1906, when numerous Greeks arrived in Greece only to face deprivation, people were now reluctant to see resettlement as a solution to their misfortunes in Bulgaria. Despite accusations of persecutions committed by Bulgarians against the Greeks, there were no discussions of a mass emigration of all Greeks after the end of the Balkan Wars.

In the summer of 1913, on the eve of the peace treaty negotiations, the Greek government and the Patriarchate made plans related to the Greek populations both in "old" and "new" Bulgaria. Characteristically all projects focused on the need to establish safeguards for the Greeks who were expected to remain in Bulgaria. The Patriarchate formed a special commission to discuss the issue of Patriarchist dioceses in the former Ottoman territories that had become part of another Balkan Christian state after 1913, and several proposals were advanced. In the ideal case, all Greek parishes in Bulgarian territory would remain under the jurisdiction of the Patriarch. If the Bulgarian administration refused to allow this arrangement, the Greek bishops in Bulgaria would establish an autocephalous Greek Orthodox Church independent from the Exarchate. All dioceses with a majority Greek population would become one ecclesiastical district and include as few Bulgarians as possible so that the Greek priests could elect Greek bishops and manage their church buildings independently.[38] In the educational

35. IAMB, Archive 256, file 16, doc. 23a. Memoirs of Doxiadis.

36. IAM, GDM, file 64, p. 1. Estimate of refugees in Salonica, 12 July 1914.

37. Some 35,851 refugees from Bulgaria (including the new territories) registered with the commission in Salonica. See Ipourgeion oikonomikon, *Ekthesis peri ton en Makedonia prosphigon* (Athens, 1916), 42. The statistic indicates that only 105 families with 365 members left "old" Bulgaria, but the numbers from individual localities listed on pages 12–20 add up to 241 families with 828 members.

38. IAIE, 1912, 115.4. "Measures to Secure the National Character of the Greek Population under Bulgarian Rule," 17 July 1913. This district would be stationed in Edirne, a city expected to become part of Bulgaria and closest to the offices of the Patriarchate in Istanbul. As a compromise, the commission outlined another plan, stipulating that the majority population in each district would elect the bishop and the minority population would assign his deputy, who would secure the prevalence of Greek interests in areas with Greeks in the majority.

sphere, the commission concluded that the best-case scenario involved the naturalization of all Greeks in Bulgarian territory. The population would then form "colonies" (*paroikies*), in which all Greek nationals, regardless of citizenship, would have access to Greek schools functioning according to Bulgarian law. The priority of the Patriarchate was the continued existence of Greek bishops among the Greek population in Bulgaria, which would "guarantee the preservation of their national character."[39]

The Venizelos government supported the presence of the Patriarchate in Bulgarian territory but focused on the broader implications of the arrangements between Bulgaria and Greece. Unlike the 1906 crisis, when the restoration of Greek communal life had been its unequivocal priority, the availability of large Bulgarian populations in Greek Macedonia after the Balkan Wars complicated the position of the Greek administration. Thus high officials preferred the naturalization of all Greeks living in Bulgaria and not the full restoration of their communal autonomy; although reinstating the communities would guarantee the property, education, and freedom of the Greeks, it would also trigger reciprocal Bulgarian demands for similar protections for the Bulgarians in Greek Macedonia. Despite these concerns, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs expressed confidence that the issue would be resolved to the Greek advantage because "the Bulgarian farmers in Greece, being largely a population without a deeply rooted national consciousness, will assimilate to our ways, whereas our population in Bulgaria, being the protagonist of culture in the cities, will withstand Bulgarian assimilation."[40] The Greek side was prepared to ask for the return and compensation of properties expropriated during the 1906 events. Nonetheless, diplomats had misgivings about reconstituting the old communal regime and balanced preserving a Greek presence in Bulgaria against possible concessions regarding the Bulgarians newly incorporated in Greece.

However, events occurring in Bulgaria made any measure of Greek self-rule impossible. In 1914 escalating anti-Greek tensions after the Second Balkan War led to a repetition of the anti-Greek movement in some areas. Though short-lived, the events resulted in the abolition of all the Greek communities and the expulsion of the remaining Patriarchist clergy from Bulgaria. Similar to the 1906 pogroms, developments in Macedonia—namely, the harsh treatment of Bulgarians under the new Greek administration after 1913—triggered this renewed anti-Greek sentiment. These events began in May 1914, when the government of Vasil Radoslavov officially protested the violence against Bulgarians in Macedonia and warned the Greek government that the growing tensions in that province could affect the treatment of the Greeks in Bulgaria.[41] Despite the end of the war, the Bulgarian Greeks found themselves at the epicenter of national conflict, because, as Greek

39. Ibid.
40. Ibid.
41. Krâsteva, "Grâtsko-bâlgarskata tsârkovna razpra," 26.

diplomats had predicted in 1913, Greek policies against the Bulgarians in Greek Macedonia influenced their fate in dramatic ways.[42]

On 20 May indignant Bulgarians gathered in front of the Greek church in Varna where Greek notables planned a ceremony honoring the name day of the Greek King Constantine. To avoid disturbances, Greek leaders called off the ceremony, but the following day the National Cultural Union, headed by Mayor Vasilev, rallied against Greek atrocities in Macedonia. The participants, many of whom were wartime refugees from Greece, decided to seize all the Greek churches and schools in Varna.[43] The activists of the National Union declared: "Priests that are Bulgarian citizens cannot organize ceremonies for the well-being of foreign heads of state, and especially for the [leader] who called himself the Bulgar Slayer, in churches [that belong to] Bulgarian citizens."[44] The activists transferred all remaining Greek churches to Exarchist authority, and the Bulgarian bishop Simeon gave a sermon in the newly seized St. Athanasios Church.[45] Notwithstanding the similarity to the 1906 pogroms, the police did not intervene to disperse the three hundred activists.

That same day, in Sofia, to celebrate the Greek King's name day, Greek flags appeared on the chapel housed in the Greek Embassy, and refugees from Macedonia stormed the church and tore down the flags. The Radoslavov government realized that such events reflected badly on the reputation of Bulgaria, and authorities immediately returned the chapel and fired the Sofia District police chief.[46] But violence continued elsewhere. In Stanimaka/Stenimachos members of the National Union, accompanied by a Bulgarian priest, closed all Greek churches.[47] Activists attempted to expropriate the Greek churches in the nearby villages of Voden/Vodena and Kuklen/Kouklaina.[48] In early June members of the Bulgarian clergy led the seizure of churches and schools in the Kavakli (today Topolovgrad) and Kazâlagach regions.[49] Despite the interjection of the Patriarchist representative Photios and his allusions to the wartime contribution of the Greek population, the Bulgarian authorities did not allow him to mediate

42. Epitropi ton ek Mitilini Mikrasiaton Prosphigon, *Oi Diogmoi ton Ellinon*, 31–45.

43. TsDA, f. 166k, op. 1, a.e 1013, ll. 83, 86, 87. Varna District Chief to MVRI, 18 June 1914; telegrams from Varna, 20 and 21 May 1914.

44. TsDA, f. 166k, op. 1, a.e 1013, ll. 85, 88. Telegrams from Varna, 20 and 21 May 1914. "Bulgar Slayer" refers to a nickname of the Greek King Constantine during the Second Balkan War, comparing him to the Byzantine emperor Vasilios II who, in 1014, captured and blinded some fourteen thousand Bulgarian soldiers.

45. Epitropi ton ek Mitilini Mikrasiaton Prosphigon, *Oi Diogmoi ton Ellinon*, 35; Krâsteva, "Grâtsko-bâlgarskata tsârkovna lazpra," 26.

46. TsDA, f. 166k, op. 1, a.e 1013, ll. 29, 37, 43, 54, 75, 78. Correspondence between MVRI and BLA from May 1914.

47. TsDA, f. 166k, op. 1, a.e 1013, ll. 14, 16–17, 22. Photios to MVRI, 25, 29, and 30 May 1914.

48. TsDA, f. 166k, op. 1, a.e 1013, l. 19. Photios to MVRI, 30 May 1914; and TsDA, f. 176k, op. 3, a.e. 44, l. 12. Photios to MVRI, 10 June 1914.

49. TsDA, f. 166k, op. 1, a.e 1013, l. 20. Photios to MVRI, 2 June 1914.

the crisis, reminding the vicar that he had no spiritual or administrative authority in Bulgaria.[50]

Macedonia was once again at the center of the debate. In response to Greek accusations of the "systematic persecution of the Greeks," Bulgarian politicians pointed to the suffering of the Bulgarians in newly incorporated Greek Macedonia and the plight of the refugees who had instigated the anti-Greek movement.[51] The official justification propagated abroad was that "Bulgarian public opinion would greet with delight any official Greek statement confirming that hereafter the Bulgarian element in Greek Macedonia would be treated similarly to the Greeks in Bulgaria."[52] The Radoslavov government avoided intervention and presented the events as a fait accompli that reflected the wishes of the Bulgarian people. It was true that only a small number of what Greeks called "professional patriots" (*ex epangelmatos patriotai*) participated in these anti-Greek rallies, but authorities failed to secure or return the communal Greek properties that had been seized.[53] National activists closed all Greek schools and expropriated all churches that had continued to be Greek after 1906. Further, on 24 June 1914, the Bulgarian authorities deported the last representative of the Patriarchate, Vicar Photios. Thereafter they allowed Greek priests to serve in their parishes only if they condemned the schism and became Exarchists.[54]

This second anti-Greek movement lasted only several days, but it permanently terminated the existence of autonomous Greek communities in Bulgaria. In the summer of 1914 the Radoslavov government officially adopted the stance of the Exarchate that, similar to the Armenians, Serbs, Romanians, and Russians, the Greeks professed the same religion as all Orthodox Christians and could freely use the Bulgarian Orthodox churches, but they were not allowed to have their own religious establishments. Instead of seeking separate communal institutions, the Greeks, as Bulgarian citizens, had to work to preserve the unity of the Bulgarian Church.[55]

Harsh policies directed against the Greeks continued during World War I when, according to one description, Bulgarians "stripped us [the Greeks] of all our properties, prohibited the practice of our religious obligations, did not allow us to study our language, exiled our priests and teachers, banned Greek books or Greek newspapers, [and] made it illegal to use our language," posting signs that said "Speak only Bulgarian!" in offices and stores. Other Greeks again faced the arbitrary requisition of their properties, the forced conscription into the Bulgarian army, the random settlement

50. TsDA, f. 166k, op. 1, a.e 1013, l. 64. Plovdiv District Chief to MVRI, 11 June 1914.

51. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 3, a.e. 44, l. 4. BLA to MVRI, 29 May 1914; and TsDA, f. 166k, op. 1, a.e 1013, l. 2. BLA to MVRI, 27 June 1914, concerning a conversation with Venizelos.

52. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 3, a.e. 44, l. 23. Press Directorate statement, 1 October 1914.

53. Epitropi ton ek Mitilini Mikrasiaton Prosphigon, *Oi Diogmoi ton Ellinon,* 52.

54. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 3, a.e. 44, l. 19. BLA to MVRI, 2 July 1914; Megas, *Anatoliki Romilia,* 37; and Episkopos Eirinoupoleos Photios, *Episima engrapha,* 441.

55. TsDA, f. 166k, op. 1, a.e 1013, ll. 135–137, 141, 146–153. Draft letters to General Chrétien concerning Greek churches in Bulgaria.

of Bulgarian refugees in their homes, strict restrictions on their travel, and internment to remote parts of Bulgaria.[56] But it was the Second Balkan War and the Bulgarian perception of all Greeks as "treacherous allies" that allowed the implementation of such extreme measures aimed at the Greek communities. Further, the Greek policies targeting the Bulgarians in Greek Macedonia after 1913 confirmed Bulgarian thinking that the Greek nation had caused the Bulgarian "national catastrophe." In the end Bulgarian authorities, supported by a public that demanded reprisals for the loss of Macedonia, put an end to the communal organization and religious and educational autonomy of the Greeks in Bulgaria.

Once World War I erupted and the two countries found themselves supporting opposing military alliances once again, the rights of the Greeks in Bulgaria eroded even further because this second conflict between the two countries reaffirmed the negative Bulgarian stereotypes against the Greeks that had already developed. The harsh Bulgarian policies against the Greeks stood in stark contrast to the more tolerant handling of the Muslim populations. Whereas during the Balkan Wars Bulgarian officials had tried to Bulgarize the Bulgarian Muslims (or Pomaks) and neutralize the Turks, now they treated both groups as "provisional allies" because the Ottoman Empire was part of the Central Powers.[57] But that was not the case with the Greeks; after the Second Balkan War and into World War I, they became the ultimate national enemy that no Bulgarian could trust or forgive.

Unmixing the "New Lands"

Besides dealing with the population within the old Bulgarian borders of 1885, there was another dimension of Bulgarian nationalization directed against Greek nationals. When the country acquired new territories in Macedonia and Thrace in 1913, Bulgarian politicians had to articulate policies targeting Greeks who had never been a part of a nation-state. Even though the national movements of the competing Balkan states had actively been recruiting the various populations of the Ottoman Empire to join their respective causes in the 1910s, there was a large number of non-national Christians (as well as Muslims) whose loyalties continued to be undetermined. Each new national administration after the Balkan Wars, whether Bulgarian, Greek, Serbian, or Romanian, implemented population policies aimed at modifying the demographic composition and "unmixing" their new territories.[58] Bulgarian policies were in flux during the wars, but officials wished to achieve the rapid Bulgarization of their new territories that had compact minority groups such as Greeks, Turks, or Bulgarian Muslims,

56. IAIE, 1919, A/5/II, 5. Greek petitions from January 1919; and Megas, *Anatoliki Romilia,* 37.

57. Neuburger, *The Orient Within,* 42–43.

58. Brubaker, "The Aftermath of Empire and the Unmixing of Peoples."

while treating more dispersed populations, such as the Jews and Armenians, with the presumption that they could become loyal Bulgarian citizens.[59] In this context, both officials and ordinary folk realized that people's allegiances remained to be negotiated with the new national regimes that replaced Ottoman rule.

The Treaty of Bucharest, which ended the Second Balkan War in July 1913, divided most of Macedonia between Greece and Serbia, placing under Bulgarian control only small areas around Strumitsa/Stroumnitsa, Melnik/Meleniko, Nevrokop/Nevrokopi, and Petrich/Petritsi (see map 2). In August Bulgarian military authorities started reentering these regions and replacing the Greek units that had been stationed there previously. In addition, the Treaty of Istanbul, in September 1913, outlined the new Bulgarian-Turkish border, ceding to Bulgaria Western Thrace all the way to the Aegean coast, including the important cities of Dedeagach (today Alexandroupolis), Giumiurdzhina (today Komotini), and Xanthi (sometimes referred to as Skecha in Bulgarian based on its Turkish name Iskeçe). By mid-October Ottoman troops withdrew and the Bulgarian military reoccupied the area.[60] These territories in Macedonia and Thrace became the "new lands" (*novite zemi*) of Bulgaria. But the two areas followed different paths. Western Thrace was under Bulgarian rule only between 1913 and 1918, and so it underwent only a temporary "unmixing"; however, the areas around Melnik/Meleniko in Macedonia and Ortakeuy (today Ivaĭlovgrad) and Vasiliko (today Tsarevo) in the northernmost fringes of Thrace remained a part of the country after 1919 and were permanently Bulgarized.

The "new lands" faced radical political and demographic change, because the Radoslavov government adopted swift policies of integration in two regions with significant minority populations. The administration organized the areas around Melnik/Meleniko into the new Strumitsa District (encompassing all new lands in Macedonia), incorporated Ortakeuy into the new Giumiurdzhina District (including all new lands in Western Thrace), and attached the territories around Vasiliko to the existing Burgas District.[61] Building the new Bulgarian infrastructure in these areas, officials enforced nationalization policies on a mass scale, including the expulsion or internal displacement of undesired individuals, the colonization of problematic territories with Bulgarians, the installation of Bulgarian officials in minority areas, the strengthening of Bulgarian educational and religious institutions, and the economic buildup of these areas to maximize their usefulness to the rest of the country.

59. For an overview of Bulgarian minority policies, see Krâsteva, *Obshtnosti i identichnosti.* For the forced Christianization of the Pomaks, see Georgiev and Trifonov, *Pokrâstvaneto na bâlgarite mohamedani.*

60. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 2, a.e. 1404, ll. 32, 51, 63. BLI to MVRI, 6 and 9 October 1913; General Savov to MVRI, 14 October 1913.

61. Staĭko Trifonov, *Trakiia. Administrativna uredba, politicheski i stopanski zhivot, 1912–1915* (Sofia, 1992), 71.

When Bulgarian authorities took control of the diversely populated Western Thrace in October 1913, they declared that they would protect "all citizens regardless of religion or nationality."[62] The Commander in Chief General Savov warned officers to be extremely careful because otherwise "the population might lose faith that their traditions and religious feelings would be respected and tolerated by the new state authorities."[63] The main goal of the Radoslavov government was to create an efficient Bulgarian bureaucracy and transform the area into a "Bulgarian stronghold" (*tvârdina na bâlgarshtinata*).[64] According to the December 1914 census, the 350,000 inhabitants of Western Thrace included some 170,000 Turks, close to 150,000 Bulgarians, and 32,000 Greeks.[65] But these figures were misleading, because officials counted as "Bulgarians" both the Bulgarian-speaking Muslims and Patriarchists, two groups of dubious allegiance who sometimes sided with the Turkish or Greek cause.

The progression of colonization policies in the "new lands" exposed Bulgarian insecurities regarding the large minority populations in the area. In October 1913 the government ordered all refugees from Western Thrace to return to their place of origin.[66] Officials then decided that all refugees, regardless of whether they came from Romania, Asia Minor, or Macedonia, should be settled in the "newly liberated lands," and issued instructions that "nobody would be settled in old Bulgaria." The goal was to use the 140,000 refugees in old Bulgaria to strengthen the Bulgarian element in the new lands and achieve the national homogenization of the area.[67] In early 1914 professors from the University of Sofia proposed the creation of a Colonization Institute that would sustain the Bulgarian presence on the Aegean coast through the systematic settlement of Bulgarian refugees. According to these experts, scores of Greeks and Turks had left the region after the institution of the Bulgarian administration so that sufficient land and housing were available for the settlers.[68] These colonization policies produced results. As of 20 June 1914 some thirteen thousand refugee families with sixty-five thousand members had settled in Western Thrace, increasing the Bulgarian population by almost 50 percent.[69] Most new residents came from the neighboring regions and remained in the area so that they could return to their native land in Greece or the Ottoman Empire when circumstances allowed, but for now the administration used them to boost the Bulgarian element in Thrace.[70]

62. "Proclamation to the Residents of the Newly Liberated Lands," 16 October 1913, quoted in Trifonov, *Trakiia,* 69–70.

63. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 2, a.e. 1404, l. 63. General Savov to MVRI, 14 October 1913.

64. Parliament proceedings from 5 June 1914, quoted in Trifonov, *Trakiia,* 218.

65. Trifonov, *Trakiia,* 74–75.

66. Ibid., 186.

67. Ibid., 192, 208. The figure of 140,000 is found in ibid., 182.

68. Ibid., 185–186, 212; and Georgi V. Dimitrov, *Nastaniavane i ozemliavane na bâlgarskite bezhantsi* (Blagoevgrad, 1985), 19.

69. Trifonov, *Trakiia,* 195.

70. The refugees came from Dobrudzha in Romania, Asia Minor and Eastern Thrace in Turkey, and Macedonia in Greece. See Dimitrov, *Nastaniavane i ozemliavane,* 19.

Despite the desired goal of national homogenization, Bulgarian measures in the new territories were highly contradictory, revealing the inability to create coherent minority policies following the Balkan Wars. The Greek populations in the new lands were abundant yet dispersed, and so the nationalizing measures of the administration varied. At their advent, Bulgarian officials encountered many Bulgarian-speaking Patriarchists, still referred to as grâkomani by Bulgarians, and still distrusted as they could easily disguise themselves as either Greeks or Bulgarians and serve as Greek spies.[71] The different levels of Grecization among this population made uniform policies impossible. In the 1910s Bulgarian activists believed that some grâkomani in Western Thrace were "just about irrevocably Grecisized [*toku-rechi okonchatelno pogârcheni*]," but they described others as only "in the process of Grecization [*v protsesa na gârtsiziraneto*]." Finally, a third group of grâkomani designated themselves as "Patriarchist Bulgarians, that is Greeks [*Patriarchikous Voulgarous, igoun tous Grekous*]," indicating that they had chosen to support the Greek cause despite Bulgarian insistence that all Bulgarian speakers were Bulgarians. The continued existence of nationally ambiguous individuals only encouraged official attempts to spur the population toward the "correct" direction of national expression. Bulgarian claims on the grâkomani were based on the "traces of their Bulgarian lifestyle [*bit*]" in language, clothing, traditions, place names, or folklore, and on their "concealed Bulgarian feelings and consciousness." It was the opinion of Bulgarian national brokers that this population had developed Greek national feelings only in the last fifty years so that, under the watchful eye of Bulgarian officials, it could rediscover its true allegiances.[72] While this statement adopted a constructionist analysis of nationality that allowed for changes over time, it simultaneously embraced essentialist claims because it portrayed Bulgarian speakers as the "authentic" local population that had forgotten its "true" nationality, something officials could "correct" with appropriate measures.

The Bulgarian military presence in the big urban centers compelled many of the "real" Greeks, as defined by language and ideas of common descent, to leave even before the arrival of the new civil authorities; this occurred in numerous cities including Dedeagach, Giumiurdzhina, Xanthi, Soflu (today Souphli), Maronia, Makri, and Feres.[73] According to the Greek Refugee Settlement Commission in Salonica, a total of 35,851 persons, mostly from Thrace, resettled from Bulgaria to Greek Macedonia between 1912 and 1916, and, through 1918, the number of Greeks who left Western Thrace reached 40,000.[74] These Greeks had good reason to abandon their areas;

71. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 3, a.e 39, l. 25. Bulgarian Telegraph Agency to MVRI, 29 March 1914.

72. Stoiu Shishkov, *Trakiia predi i sled evropeĭskata voĭna* (Plovdiv, 1922), 119–120.

73. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 2, a.e. 1404, l. 75. Colonel Stoĭkov to MVRI, 21 October 1913.

74. Ipourgeion oikonomikon, *Ekthesis,* 12–20. Pallis provides the figure of forty thousand in "Racial Migrations," 318, and the figure of seventy thousand in *Statistiki meleti,* 17, but the latter is not confirmed elsewhere.

Bulgarian authorities, trying to curb unrest, interned, in old Bulgaria, any Greek religious figures, former civil servants, administrators, and notables who could instigate the population to revolt.[75] The Patriarchate decried the attitude of the Bulgarian administration toward the Greeks, reprimanded it for the expropriation of schools and churches for military use, and criticized Bulgarian intervention in Greek religious affairs.[76] Even local Bulgarians viewed these precautionary measures as unnecessary and requested the return of "our fellow-citizens with whom we lived like brothers even though they [we]re Greeks."[77]

Postwar normalization entailed making careful judgments regarding who should be allowed to stay and who should be compelled to leave the province. In March 1914 Prime Minister Radoslavov ordered administrators not to issue travel permits to Greeks who had fled Giumiurdzhina upon the Bulgarian occupation and now wanted to return.[78] The administration in the important port of Dedeagach likewise believed that the city "should remain, as a borderland, with a purely Bulgarian population."[79] Officials called in Greek families "one by one" and explained "in a delicate manner" why it was better for them to "temporarily depart" from the city. The justification was "the explosive mood of society" after the arrival of Bulgarian refugees from now Greek Salonica.[80] These refugees from Greece constituted "troublesome elements," regularly showed "steaming hatred against everything Greek," and caused various problems for the local Greeks.[81] Faced with this dilemma, a significant number of Greeks decided to depart from their place of birth and establish themselves nearby in the new Greek lands in Aegean Macedonia to await better times. The governor of Giumiurdzhina brushed off Greek accusations of forced expulsion, claiming that all emigration was voluntary and insisting that "the Greek population which emigrated or ran away to Greece has informed the Greek government that they had been forcibly pushed out so that they could seek assistance and compassion."[82] But when authorities allowed some Greeks to return in 1915, Bulgarians residing in Dedeagach wrote to Prime Minister Radoslavov that "blood would be shed" if Greek repatriation continued.[83] Temporary emigration soon became permanent resettlement, as the new authorities substituted Bulgarian merchants and civil servants for the departed Greeks and distributed Greek properties to the Bulgarian refugees.

75. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 22, a.e. 12, ll. 5, 8, 62, 95, 103, 115, 122, 142, 143, 145, 148–152.
76. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 2, a.e. 1213, ll. 227–228. BLI to MVRI, 4 December 1913.
77. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 22, a.e. 12, l. 72. Petition of residents of Doĭran, 23 June 1913.
78. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 22, a.e. 14, l. 4. Memo of Radoslavov, 10 March 1914.
79. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 3, a.e. 45, ll. 13–14a. Rozental to MVRI, 26 November 1914. Rozental was the chief of the Dedeagach Refugee Settlement Committee.
80. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 3, a.e. 45, l. 7. Ordinance of Rozental, 28 May 1914.
81. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 3, a.e. 45, l. 6. Rozental to MVRI, 2 June 1914.
82. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 22, a.e. 14, l. 72. The Governor of Giumiurdzina to MVRI, November 1914.
83. TsDA, f, 313k, op. 1, a.e. 1341, ll. 1–4. Inhabitants of Dedeagach to Rozental, 28 August 1915, quoted in Trifonov, *Trakiia,* 211–212.

Figure 4. *Greek refugees waiting to leave Xanthi after the arrival of the Bulgarian administration in Western Thrace in 1913. Timoleon Ambelas,* Istoria tou ellinovoulgarikou polemou 1913. Epi ti vasei episimon ektheseon, perigraphon avtopton kai eggraphon *(New York: Atlantis, 1914), 205.*

Despite the official Bulgarian pressures and intimidations by refugees, this Greek migration wave also had socioeconomic dimensions, which demonstrates that nationality was not the only factor shaping people's choice of residence. In the opinion of Bulgarian officials, most emigrants from Giumiurdzhina were Greeks of superior social standing who felt economically and socially discriminated against in the new setting.[84] In Dedeagach, the Greeks who left were also considered to be predominantly "fanatic, rich Greeks."[85] In contrast to these prosperous individuals, Greek families in Soflu were "from the poorest working class, who do not want to depart by any means. They send their children to our [Bulgarian] schools, worship in our church, some even inquired about loans from the local branch of the Bulgarian Agricultural Bank . . . in order to start cultivating their properties." The Bulgarian authorities were willing to encourage these Greeks to stay, as they could serve as a workforce and teach the mulberry and silkworm trade to the Bulgarian refugees.[86] Administrators believed, in general, that they "have an interest in keeping" the Greek agricultural population in the new lands and judged that these people were prone to "easy assimilation."[87]

84. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 22, a.e. 14, l. 72. The Governor of Giumiurdzina to MVRI, November 1914.

85. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 2 a.e. 1396, l. 2. Rozental to MVRI, 5 June 1914.

86. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 3, a.e. 45, ll. 13–14a. Rozental to MVRI, 26 November 1914.

87. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 22, a.e. 14, l. 72. The Governor of Giumiurdzhina to MVRI, November 1914.

Officials in Western Thrace did not treat all Greeks uniformly as members of a "minority"; while authorities urged some Greeks to depart, they offered incentives to others who showed a willingness to become loyal citizens of "new" Bulgaria. Under these circumstances, Greek-affiliated individuals considered all their options when faced with the dilemma of relocating to Greece or living as a minority in their place of birth; many resorted to concealing or ignoring their nationality so that they could remain in their homes. These cautious interactions between the Bulgarian administration and the more flexible Greeks continued for four years through the end of World War I. The armistice between Bulgaria and the Allies in September 1918 enforced the withdrawal of Bulgarian forces and officials from Western Thrace, placed the area under French command, and allowed the departed Greeks, a population of fifty thousand, to return to their native homes.[88] The Bulgarian government now awaited the Paris Peace Conference in order to present its case for its continued control of Thrace.

The other example of "ethnic unmixing" under Bulgarian supervision was its occupation of Greek (Aegean) Macedonia between 1916 and 1918. Bulgarian troops seized the area, including the important cities of Siar/Serres, Drama, and Kavala, in early 1916, expecting to incorporate these territories at the end of the war. Following the example of Western Thrace, the Radoslavov government pursued the radical Bulgarization of formerly Greek Macedonia. However, the policies of homogenization enforced in Macedonia during World War I were harsher than those imposed in Thrace after the Balkan Wars, as the Bulgarian administration now targeted the entire Greek population as a minority group. Because Bulgarian officials arrived in the area during wartime, they often treated individuals in mechanistic ways that served the needs of the military. Further, because the new Bulgarian authorities had to quickly reverse the Greek homogenization efforts that had occurred two years earlier, they showed little sensitivity, indeed, they treated the Greeks as agents of the "de-Bulgarization" of Macedonia and therefore strove to remove them en masse.

In 1913 the new Greek administration had expelled many Bulgarians and settled Greeks in their place, and in early 1916 the new Bulgarian administration resorted to similar measures. Throughout 1916 Bulgarian military authorities interned nearly thirty-six thousand Greek inhabitants of Aegean Macedonia in northern Bulgaria or Serbian (Vardar) Macedonia, now also under Bulgarian control. Despite parallels with Bulgarian resettlement policies implemented during the Balkan Wars, Bulgarian authorities treated this population more severely because they handled individuals on an almost industrial scale. Officials transported the Greeks en masse using the railroad

88. Djordjević, "Migrations during the 1912–1913 Balkan Wars and World War One," 118; and Pallis, *Statistiki meleti,* give the figure of fifty-one thousand returnees. Once Western Thrace was ceded to Greece in 1920, the reverse process of Greek homogenization began. See Ivan Ormandzhiev, *Trakiïskiiat vâpros kato kumir na bâlgarskata dârzhava* (Sofia, 1929).

Figure 5. *Greek refugees returning to Xanthi after the departure of the Bulgarian administration from Western Thrace in 1918. P. D. Sakellariou,* Ai voulgarikai omotites en ti Anatoliki Makedonia kai Thraki, 1912–1913. Gegonota, ektheseis, engrapha, episimoi martiriai *(Athens: Tipois Sakellariou, 1914), 357.*

lines to increase efficiency, assigned the internees to arduous agricultural and railroad jobs deleterious to their health, and confined them to detention camps lacking the necessary means for their survival. In contrast to the partially spontaneous migrations and individual expulsions that had occurred in Thrace, a large number of Greeks were now forcibly displaced and perished while in Bulgarian custody.[89] At the same time Bulgarian authorities dispatched some thirty-nine thousand Bulgarians to settle in Macedonia, including many refugees from the Balkan Wars that resided in nearby localities and who now returned to their native places once the territories came under Bulgarian control. Officials sought to strengthen the Bulgarian element in the area in preparation for future peace treaty negotiations. This population exchange, in effect, lasted only two years during the tide of the war and was markedly provisional. When the Central Powers lost the Great War, the armistice from September 1918 mandated immediate Bulgarian

89. The most notorious camp was Kichevo in Vardar Macedonia. Pallis, in "Racial Migrations," 318, points to thirty-six thousand interned and seventeen thousand returnees, allowing that nineteen thousand perished in Bulgaria. Bulgarian authorities claimed that only twenty-six thousand were interned and that 1,193 Greeks perished in Kichevo. See TsDA, f. 176k, op. 3, a.e. 958, ll. 76–120. MV to MVRI, 11 December 1919. For the return of the Greeks, see Alexandros Zannas, *I Palinostisis ton omiron tis Anatolikis Makedonias* (Thessaloniki, 1968); and IAIE, 1919, A/5/II, 4. Report of the American Red Cross, April 1919.

withdrawal from Aegean Macedonia. Bulgarian settlers fled together with the retreating Bulgarian administration, while Greek representatives, assisted by the Red Cross, started the repatriation of the Greeks interned in Bulgaria.[90] Policies in Aegean Macedonia constituted the apogee of "ethnic unmixing" as implemented by Bulgarian officials. The strategic yet more flexible nationalization of contested territories in the Balkan Wars took on a much more radical, automatic, and purposeful character during World War I, treating the Greek population as members of an unwanted minority group that had to be quickly dealt with.

Over a five-year period Bulgarian officials enforced a variety of homogenization policies aimed at radically changing the demography of their "new lands." These campaigns of population engineering lasted until 1918, when the armistice after World War I compelled the Bulgarian evacuation of Aegean Macedonia and Western Thrace and allowed the return of the previously displaced populations to their homes. Bulgarian officials implemented the same techniques of population engineering that their neighbors used, including expulsion, internment, colonization, nationalization, and economic development, and given the appropriate occasion they could have successfully Bulgarized the territories in their possession. There was nothing inevitable in the territorial and demographic picture that emerged in the Balkans as a result of the wars. What was striking was the scale of population management, as forced or impelled migration as well as colonization became intrinsic parts of nation- and state-building.

Four Cities Become Bulgarian

In this context of comprehensive population movements, it is difficult to judge what constituted successful nationalization with lasting effects and where the line could be drawn between national homogenization and ethnic cleansing. A micro-analysis of "ethnic unmixing" in specific localities proves the best approach to explore this question. The territories inhabited by Greeks around Strumitsa/Stroumnitsa and Melnik/Meleniko in Macedonia and Ortakeuy and Ahtopol/Agathoupolis in Thrace remained Bulgarian territory after World War I, with the exception of Strumitsa/Stroumnitsa, which was ceded to Serbia in 1919 (see map 2). Unlike other areas with mixed populations that Bulgarian forces occupied only temporarily, officials managed to rid these cities of minorities and, in three out of the four cases, to continue their Bulgarization in the interwar years. The settlement of Bulgarian refugees became an important way to deal with wartime instability and to secure the eventual homogenization of these areas. But even in these newly "Bulgarian" cities, the experience of their Greek inhabitants varied. Chance largely determined how war affected individuals; military

90. Djordjević, "Migrations during the 1912–1913 Balkan Wars and World War One," 118.

campaigns destroyed some areas, refugees inundated others, and successive Bulgarian, Greek, and Ottoman military and civil administrations determined the fate of the population in still others. People were often simply unlucky to be in a particular region and live through the full range of new techniques for ethnic dilution.[91] Once Bulgarian officials arrived in these cities, they carefully examined the ethnic composition of each area, the level of participation of the population in the military conflict, the potential for peaceful integration of the new citizens, and the necessity of more coercive measures. In this context, the displaced persons were not divided neatly between Bulgarians and Greeks (or any other nation); rather, people with conflicting allegiances and unstable loyalties fled danger when they saw it coming their way.

In Thrace the alternating Bulgarian and Ottoman military authorities severely tested the loyalties of the Greek population. In Ahtopol/Agathoupolis in northeastern Thrace, the Greeks initially greeted the Bulgarian occupation forces as "liberators," and Greeks and Bulgarians worshiped in the same churches during the First Balkan War. With the Second Balkan War Turkish troops reentered the area, but the Treaty of Istanbul assigned Ahtopol/Agathoupolis and the entire Vasiliko area to Bulgaria. When the Bulgarian military authorities returned in October 1913, they were "threatening, bullying, [and] full of racial hate against the Greeks" because of the latter's alleged collaboration with the Turks during the Ottoman counteroffensive.[92] Officials settled one thousand Bulgarian refugees from (once again Ottoman) Eastern Thrace in the area, banned the use of Greek language in public, and exiled or prosecuted Greek activists for anti-Bulgarian actions. On 11 July 1914 village criers announced to the Greeks in Ahtopol/Agathoupolis and neighboring Vasiliko, Brodilovo/Vrodivos, and Kosti that they had three days to prepare for a boat trip that would take them to Greece.[93] Two vessels with Bulgarian refugees were expected to arrive the following day and replace the departing Greeks. The Greeks were then left stranded in Konstantsa in Romania and Istanbul in the Ottoman Empire, and only after the Greek government dispatched vessels for their transportation did the twelve hundred refugees reach Salonica in Greece.[94] Thus a forced population exchange occurred in Ahtopol/Agathoupolis that replaced the Greeks with Bulgarian refugees. In October 1918, several weeks after Bulgaria signed the armistice ending its participation in World War I,

91. For Greek accusations of Bulgarian atrocities, see P. D. Sakellariou, *Oi Voulgarikai omotites en ti Anatoliki Makedonia kai Thraki, 1912–1913. Gegonota, ektheseis, engrapha, episimoi martiriai* (Athens, 1914).

92. Evthymios Vaffeus, *Istoria tis Agathoupolis kai tis Voreioanatolikis Thrakis* (New York, 1948), 268.

93. Vaffeus, *Istoria tis Agathoupolis*, 174–176, 266–272; Panagiotis Chatzigeorgiou, "Agathoupolis tis Voreioanatolikis Thrakis," *ATLGT* 29 (1963): 338–394.

94. For the state of the refugees upon their arrival, see IAM, GDM, file 64. Report of the Surgeon General of Salonica, 24 July 1914.

a fire engulfed the entire town and removed Greek traces from the area permanently.[95]

When Bulgarian occupation authorities replaced the Ottoman forces in Ortakeuy in October 1913, young Greek males temporarily left for the nearby (once again Ottoman) Edirne to escape a Bulgarian draft, while their parents remained under Bulgarian rule to protect their family properties. But Bulgarian officials decided to treat these deserters as Ottoman citizens who had chosen to resettle in the Ottoman Empire. Prime Minister Radoslavov, for security reasons, gave orders not to let them return to their homes, suggesting that, instead, they go to Greece. Many fugitives were grâkomani; however, unlike other cases when officials gave the grâkomani a chance to "become Bulgarians," because of their proximity to the border, authorities prohibited their reentry even though some were minors with families still in Bulgaria.[96] When the Ottoman and Greek governments failed to reach an agreement regarding Greek refugees in Ottoman territory, all these "Greeks," unable to secure Bulgarian permission to return to their homes, had to depart for Greek soil.[97] In 1914 officials settled Bulgarian refugees from Asia Minor in Ortakeuy, which created tensions with the local population, and considered dispatching an additional twenty-five thousand refugees, currently in Burgas/Pirgos, to the nearby villages.[98] In the end some five thousand Greeks and grâkomani from Ortakeuy alone resettled, while in the entire area, including the adjacent villages, the number of those who departed reached fourteen thousand.[99] The confusion created by the successive Turkish and Bulgarian occupations, which forced the population to behave in contradictory ways, sealed the fate of these grâkomani who may have been able to "become Bulgarians" under different conditions.

In Macedonia it was the interchanging Bulgarian and Greek administrations that influenced the conduct of the population. Melnik/Meleniko was "a Greek town in a purely Bulgarian region"; even though the Greek King Constantine considered its inhabitants to be authentic "ancient Greeks," both Greeks and grâkomani from nearby villages inhabited the town.[100] Bulgarian troops arrived in October 1912 during the First Balkan War, only to be replaced by Greek troops in June 1913 during the Second Balkan War. The Greeks feared the armed groups of the pro-Bulgarian Macedonian leader Iane Sandanski that were posted in the vicinity even more than they

95. Chatzigeorgiou, "Agathoupolis," 364; Vaffeus, *Istoria tis Agathoupolis*, 279.

96. Theodoros Georgantas, "Ortakioi Ditikis Thrakis. Imerologion stratiotou," *ATLGT* 26 (1961): 172–173; TsDA, f. 176k, op. 3, a.e 39, ll. 49, 50–51. BGKO to MVRI, 7 and 8 May 1914; and TsDA, f. 176k, op. 22, a.e. 14, ll. 6, 7. BGKO to MVRI, 22 April 1914; MVRI to BGKO, 26 April 1914.

97. This forced migration to Greece was somewhat ironic because Greek national activists had only recruited the population in 1909 when the inhabitants of Ortakeuy "saw the Greek flag for the first time." See Georgantas, "Ortakioi," 173.

98. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 3, a.e. 130, l. 15. Memo of MVRI, 23 July 1914; and TsDA, f. 176k, op. 3, a.e. 39, l. 73. BGKO to MVRI, 1 September 1914.

99. IAMB, Archive 256, 1b, doc. 41. Letter to Doxiadis, 28 November 1919.

100. Miletich, "V polurazrusheniia Melnik," 85, 87.

feared the regular Bulgarian military units. With the Bucharest Treaty, Melnik/Meleniko became part of Bulgaria, and the Greek military units withdrew. The departing Greek officers urged the Greeks to resettle to Demir Hisar/Sidirokastro and Siar/Serres just across the new Bulgarian-Greek border in order to assist the Hellenization of that area, which possessed large Bulgarian-speaking populations. Some eight hundred families settled in regions inhabited by Bulgarians in Greek Macedonia, establishing Neo Meleniko. Meanwhile, Bulgarian villagers from localities near Melnik/Meleniko, as well as Bulgarian refugees expelled from Greek Macedonia, seized the properties abandoned by the fleeing Greeks.[101] Ultimately some grâkomani chose to follow their "authentic" Greek neighbors and become Greeks, whereas others stayed and identified as Bulgarians.

In the nearby Strumitsa/Stroumnitsa (today in the Republic of Macedonia) in August 1913, while trying to convince the population to relocate to Greece, the retreating Greek military authorities threatened to burn the homes of those unwilling to resettle. The Greek goal was to demonstrate that no minorities, whether Greek or Turkish, could live freely under Bulgarian rule. Officials promised the Greeks land and houses around Kukush/Kilkis in Greek Macedonia, and proposed that they could establish a town named Nea Stroumnitsa on the properties of expelled Bulgarians. Greek military units then set fire to all Greek and Turkish houses while leaving Bulgarian homes intact in order to create the appearance that the population had resorted to this desperate act before departing. An investigation into the war crimes following the Balkan Wars, detailed in the Carnegie Report, found that "the Greek exodus was far from . . . spontaneous but it was on the whole voluntary." Many of the departing persons were "not . . . Greeks at all, but Slavs, bi-lingual for the most part, who belong[ed] to . . . the Patriarchist Church." During the period of Bulgarian occupation, some had "become Bulgarian for several months and conformed to the Exarchist Church."[102] Ironically, after World War I, this town became part of Serbia and experienced a new wave of nationalization associated with the Yugoslav experiment. Had these grâkomani remained in Bulgaria rather than resettling in Greece in 1913, they likely would have become "Bulgarians" only until 1919, when Serbian officials would have urged them to become "Serbs." Yet, in 1913, they chose to become "Greeks."

The large territorial scale and constantly changing dynamics of three wars between 1912 and 1918 explain the fluctuations in the demographic configuration of the contested territories, which is striking at the micro-level. The common element in the resettlement of these "Greeks" was that

101. International Commission to Inquire into the Causes and Conduct of the Balkan Wars, *The Other Balkan Wars: A 1913 Carnegie Endowment Inquiry in Retrospect (With a New Introduction and Reflections on the Present Conflict by George F. Kennan)* (Washington, D.C., 1993), 107.

102. Ibid., 106–108. The Carnegie Report used quotation marks when referring to the "Greeks" of Strumitsa/Stroumnitsa.

Bulgarian officials urged their departure from "new" Bulgaria, while Greek authorities encouraged their colonization of "new" Greece. Different scenarios played out, because the military situation and administrative presence in the specific regions influenced the way people's lives developed. The displaced persons frequently showed no commitment to either administration; many were "simple people" who spoke "rather naively" about their fate and reacted to their emigration with a "passive fatalism," claiming that "the authorities knew best."[103] For many individuals, it was not their ideology but chance that determined the outcome of the wars and the development of their national allegiances. Sometimes individuals could choose their country of residence and the future affiliation of their families, but at other times they followed the dictates of national homogenization and simply adjusted to the national order of things. In the end Ahtopol, Ortakeuy, and Melnik became Bulgarian cities, and those who did not want to become Bulgarians had to leave.

Postwar Greek Activism

Following the Salonica Armistice, concluded in September 1918, Greek officers arrived in Bulgaria to implement the agreement and help prepare for the peace treaty negotiations. In October the Venizelos government established a Greek Military Mission under Allied command, which undertook urgent measures to strengthen Greek positions in Bulgaria. The Mission's chief was Colonel Konstantinos Mazarakis-Ainian, who had extensive experience organizing and fighting against the Bulgarians in Ottoman Macedonia in the early twentieth century.[104] Some thirty Greek officers and soldiers, part of a multinational occupation force, were placed under the authority of General Chrétien, the commander of Allied troops in Bulgaria. The goal of the Mission was to collect information relevant to the peace treaty negotiations, especially evidence of Bulgarian war crimes, investigate practical matters pertaining to Greek interests in Bulgaria, and supervise the Greek population in the country.[105] But as Greek emissaries approached the Bulgarian Greek communities to secure their support, they discovered that the population was invisible, silent, and unwilling to reveal its national allegiances. Therefore, in late 1918, an important goal of the Greek Military

103. Ibid., 106.

104. Mazarakis participated in the struggle for Macedonia in the 1900s and in the wars from 1912 to 1918. See Konstantinos Mazarakis-Ainian, *The Solution to the Balkan Issue* (Athens, 1909).

105. Xanthippi Kotzageorgi-Zymari, "The Greek Military Mission in Sofia, 1918–1920: Fields and Coordinates of Its Actions," in *The Salonika Theater of Operations and the Outcome of the Great War,* ed. Institute for Balkan Studies (Thessaloniki, 2005), 367–390. Mazarakis handled numerous postwar issues, including the repatriation of prisoners of war (POWs), the return of the interned Greeks from Aegean Macedonia, the return of military equipment and animals seized during the Bulgarian occupation of Macedonia, and the indemnification of Greek citizens for damages incurred in the war. See IAIE, 1919, A/5/II, 5. Mazarakis to Venizelos, 23 November 1918; and IAM, GDM, file 83. ESA to Army Headquarters, 1 January 1919.

Mission was to revive, shape, and direct Greek national activism in the aftermath of war.

Greek officers encountered a troubling phenomenon when they first surveyed the situation of the Greeks in Bulgaria. Greek agents believed that "the continuous Bulgarian pressures, the lack of communication with the motherland, [and] their economic interests have made the otherwise most lively [national] feelings of the Greeks shrivel," resulting in their voluntary integration into Bulgarian society.[106] These Greeks were "in their majority merchants who have an interest in remaining in Bulgaria and could be possibly lost to [our cause] forever . . . because many appear to be Bulgarized [*ekvoulgarizomenoi*] due to interest or mixed marriages." This tendency posed a serious problem, because "our worst enemies, both in politics and trade, are the Bulgarized Greeks [*ekvoulgaristhentes Ellines*] whose number . . . should not increase in the future."[107] Some Greeks, for example, willingly accepted Bulgarian citizenship, and though they did so for practical reasons, the consequences were significant; the Greek government was now limited in its ability to intervene in Bulgaria by mediating between the population and the authorities.[108] Others attached the Bulgarian endings -ov, -ev, and -iv to their Greek names, demonstrating a desire to hide their nationality.[109] While these trends were an indication that Bulgarian pressures had compelled the Greeks to remain invisible, also apparent to Greek officials was that the population had grown accustomed to nationalization and was willing to ignore its Greek nationality in some situations.

Therefore, an important objective of the Military Mission under Mazarakis was to "safeguard the future of the Greeks in Bulgaria" by reversing their de-nationalization. The Colonel probed complaints of the forced conscription of Greek citizens into the Bulgarian Army and investigated the deliberate mistreatment of Greeks in false prosecutions. He strove to clarify Bulgarian regulations related to citizenship and to secure compensation for requisitioned Greek property.[110] Listing the closure of churches and schools, the prohibition against speaking Greek, and the forced conscription into the Bulgarian Army as the main problems facing the population, Mazarakis insisted that the peace treaty should contain clauses protecting Greek communal life in Bulgaria.[111] Addressing Greek demands, the Allied commander, General Chrétien, voiced his concern to the new government of Teodor Teodorov that Greek schools in Bulgaria were closed and that the children of Greek citizens were forced to attend Bulgarian schools.[112] He insisted that

106. IAIE, 1919, A/5/II, 4. ESA to IE, 5 February 1919.
107. IAM, GDM, file 82. ESA to Army Headquarters, 19 December 1918/1 January 1919.
108. IAIE, 1919, A/5/II, 4. ESA to IE and Army Headquarters, 24 January 1919.
109. *Bâlgariia,* 22 January 1919, found in TsDA, f. 176k, op. 3, a.e. 1382, l. 78.
110. IAM, GDM, file 83. ESA to Army Headquarters, 1 January 1919; and IAIE, 1919, A/5/II, 4. ESA to IE and Army Headquarters, 24 January 1919.
111. IAIE, 1919, A/5/II, 5. Mazarakis to Venizelos, 23 November 1918.
112. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 22, a.e. 43, l. 1. General Chrétien to MVRI, 29 December 1918.

the postal services not censor mail written in Greek and to resume sending letters to Greece.[113] The General demanded that the government offer amnesty to all Greeks accused of spying and other political crimes, secure their freedom of travel, and stop all "vexatious measures" against the population. Soon afterward, the Teodorov administration lifted wartime restrictions, granted amnesty to political prisoners, eased travel, and guaranteed freedom to the Greeks in commerce and the professions.[114] In late 1918 Greek priests reopened the chapel housed in the Greek Embassy in Sofia, and Greek representatives started talks for the return of other churches and schools.[115]

In November 1918 General Chrétien allowed Greek officers, headed by Mazarakis, to survey the situation of the Greek communities in Bulgaria. In Varna Mazarakis created an uproar when he appeared in the Greek neighborhood driving a car decorated with a Greek flag. Greek spirits improved further with the arrival of some twelve hundred Greek POWs from Germany over Bulgarian objections. The Greek officers also traveled to the Gagauz villages north of Varna trying to encourage the population to stand behind the Greek idea.[116] In December the emissaries visited Anhialo/Anchialos, Sozopol/Sozoupolis, Plovdiv/Philippoupolis, and Stanimaka/Stenimachos, where they convened meetings at Greek homes, questioned the Greeks about damages incurred in 1906, and collected complaints regarding their mistreatment during the wars.[117]

Mazarakis was an energetic leader with a flamboyant style who exuded superiority, used fiery language, and took every opportunity to humiliate his old foes, the Bulgarians. During the reopening ceremony of the Greek chapel in Sofia, Mazarakis called the Bulgarians "only brave against women," made comparisons with "old Byzantine times," and boasted that "the blue [Greek] banner waves in Sofia and Greek boots walk on [Bulgarian] land."[118] A month earlier he had chided a Bulgarian priest: "So now, are you grateful to Bulgaria? The Bulgarians are a barbarian and wicked people. And so God punished them. Macedonia is now Greek. So is Istanbul, and so is the whole of Asia Minor . . . [w]hile God punished [Bulgaria]."[119] These statements were a direct continuation of wartime propaganda that depicted the Greek army as "Bulgarian-eaters" (*Voulgarophagoi*) and King Constantine as the "Bulgar Slayer" (*Voulgaroktonos*). These speeches reassured the Greeks in

113. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 3, a.e. 980, l. 1. General Chrétien to MVRI, 28 December 1918.

114. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 22, a.e. 50, ll. 1, 5–6. General Chrétien to MVRI, 4 January 1919; Response of MVRI, 18 January 1919.

115. IAM, GDM, file 82. ESA to Army Headquarters, 19 December 1918/1 January 1919.

116. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 3, a.e. 1387, ll. 54–60. The Ruse Military Tribunal to MVRI, 26 January 1919.

117. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 3, a.e. 1382, ll. 17, 20, 23.

118. *Makedonia,* 30 December 1918/12 January 1919, found in TsDA, f. 176k, op. 3, a.e. 1382, l. 61.

119. This was Priest Ottsev from the opening paragraph of the chapter. Quotation from TsDA, f. 176k, op. 3, a.e. 1382, ll. 25–26.

Bulgaria that the Greek government would protect their interests and reminded the representatives of defeated Bulgaria that, as a wartime winner, Greece would dictate the peace treaty terms. The Colonel often threatened "Greek occupation" in his speeches, which "worked miracles" in his communication with Bulgarian officials.[120] His rhetorical choices were extreme but reflected his long career as a military commander who fought against the Bulgarians in the 1900s and 1910s and now saw his nation triumphant over the old enemy.

Mazarakis's campaigns produced notable results. On 1 January 1919 the inhabitants of Varna honored the arrival of the Commander of the Allied Troops in Dobrudzha, General Gay, with a grandiose celebration. In the midst of the parade, some eighty Greek POWs appeared. A soldier dressed in a Greek military uniform carried a large Greek flag amid the exclusively Bulgarian audience. When the police tried to disperse the Greeks, the event degenerated into stone throwing between Greek POWs and Bulgarian students, leading to a highly ranked Bulgarian diplomat having to be rushed to the hospital. Municipal authorities chided the gall of the POWs to march with a Greek flag in a sovereign Bulgarian city.[121] Allied officers believed that the inappropriate display of Greek fervor had aroused the crowd; yet, after Mazarakis's rigorous intervention, the French commander in Varna blamed the Bulgarians and imposed a fine on the city.[122]

A day later another incident occurred in Plovdiv/Philippoupolis. Greek officers provoked indignation during their frequent visits by wearing military uniforms, an offense to the Bulgarian officers quartered in the city. The Greek emissaries visited the city fair during market days, trying to convince the villagers from the Stanimaka/Stenimachos area to speak Greek freely.[123] On 2 January, during the welcoming ceremony for the American Consul General Murphy, the Greek officers appeared in the notorious automobile decorated with the Greek flag. Angry taunts and insulting whistles were heard as Mazarakis rode through the town. Officials insisted that the Greek officers' provocative attitude on sovereign Bulgarian territory had "electrified" the population and caused such incidents, but General Chrétien imposed a steep fine on the city for defaming the Greek flag.[124]

Next, on 3 January, the Greek officers stopped at Stanimaka/Stenimachos. They toured the city in the now well-known automobile, inquired why Greek citizens were not allowed to circulate freely, and demanded to visit the city prison where they believed Greek POWs were interned. Speaking at the

120. IAIE, 1919, A/5/II, 5. Mazarakis to Venizelos, 23 November 1918.

121. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 3, a.e. 1387, ll. 54–60. The Ruse Military Tribunal to MVRI, 26 January 1919.

122. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 3, a.e. 1387, ll. 4–6, 8–9, 19–22, 23–24; and IAM, GDM, file 82. ESA to IE and Army Headquarters, 23 December 1918.

123. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 3, a.e. 1382, ll. 40–44. Plovdiv District Chief to MVRI, 11 January 1919.

124. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 3, a.e. 1382, ll. 40–44, 107, 102, 112. Plovdiv District Chief to MVRI, 2 and 11 January 1919; MV to MVRI, 6 January 1919; MVRNZ to MVRI, 22 January 1919.

St. Nicholas Church, Mazarakis promised that the Paris Peace Conference would give Plovdiv/Philippoupolis and Stanimaka/Stenimachos to Greece. In the evening, accompanied by local Greeks, the officers sang patriotic songs in the streets and fired a gunshot into the sky when they approached the military barracks. Many Greeks gathered to discuss the return of churches and schools to the community.[125] During an evening meeting at a private home, the officers thanked the population for their tireless work for the cause of pan-Hellenism.[126]

As a result of the tours, the Greeks in Bulgaria recovered their self-confidence. In Stanimaka/Stenimachos the population organized picnics, sang patriotic songs, and prepared to welcome Greek troops.[127] In the nearby village of Voden/Vodena the priest switched back to reading his sermons in Greek, and villagers freely circulated Greek newspapers demanding the return of schools and churches to the community.[128] The population in Sozopol/Sozoupolis openly requested the return of their schools and churches.[129] The Greeks of Stanimaka/Stenimachos refused to send their children to Bulgarian schools or attend church ceremonies in Bulgarian churches. Despite the fact that inspectors fined disobedient parents, children secretly attended Greek schools convened in private homes. After negotiations began in Paris in January 1919 the Greeks even started composing petitions to the Big Four.[130] These open manifestations of national activism were exactly what Mazarakis had hoped to achieve.

Bulgarian authorities anxiously reported on the heightened Greek national fervor. After Greek officers visited Stanimaka/Stenimachos, the commander of the Bulgarian military unit, Lieutenant Colonel Venedikov, submitted a detailed report regarding a celebration honoring Colonel Mazarakis at a private home. A local Greek, Georgios Tsiridis, appealed to all Greeks "to be brave and unconditionally show their national feelings . . . otherwise their fatherland would have to endure the yoke of slavery under the barbarian Bulgarians." Twenty daughters of prominent Greeks appeared at the meeting, and the young ladies sang the Greek national anthem, substituting "Bulgarian" for "Turk" at the appropriate places. After dinner Mazarakis thanked the girls for their support and asked if they had any wishes. The replies of the young ladies included the hope for a "Bartholomew's night . . . executed by Greek troops against the Bulgarians," the sight of "Bulgarian

125. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 3, a.e. 1382, ll. 48, 56. MV to General Chrétien, 18 January 1919; Plovdiv District Chief to MVRI, 11 January 1919.

126. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 3, a.e. 1382, l. 56. Stanimaka Artillery Brigade Commander to MV, 12 January 1919.

127. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 22, a.e 969, l. 3. MV to MVRI, 20 March 1919.

128. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 3, a.e. 1382, l. 58. Telegram from Plovdiv/Philippoupolis, 10 January 1919.

129. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 3, a.e. 959, l. 3. Sozopol Military Command to MV, 9 January 1919; and TsDA, f. 176k, op. 3, a.e. 1382, l. 72. MVRI from 14 February 1919.

130. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 3, a.e. 1382, ll. 64, 74. MV to General Chrétien, 28 January 1919; Plovdiv Military Police Section to MV, 7 February 1919.

heads cut by Greek knives" floating in the nearby river, and the spectacle of Bulgarian officers "chained and taken around town as bears." When one girl asked to see the wives of Bulgarian officers become maids in Greek households, Mazarakis joyfully promised to dispatch to her home the wife of Lieutenant Colonel Venedikov.[131]

The accuracy of this rendition is problematic, as Venedikov's sources remain unnamed and the Lieutenant Colonel was markedly annoyed at how Greek officers had presumably treated his wife. Less important is whether the Greeks actually made the outrageous remarks that were reported. What matters is that Bulgarian officials believed that the Greeks were capable of orchestrating such events. The national idiom used by Venedikov reveals the pervasive influence of stereotypes: the desire to humiliate Bulgarian national pride was what the Greeks were expected to want. These deeply ingrained clichés, attributed to all Greeks as a bounded group, explain the behavior of Bulgarian activists against the population. The conviction that many Greeks participated in anti-Bulgarian activities justified treating all members of the minority as extremists who had to be rendered harmless. How many Greeks were actually willing to actively embrace the cause of Hellenism and whether they rationalized their actions with such anti-Bulgarian feelings remains unclear.

The tense atmosphere of mutual suspicion led to various incidents in the following months involving Greek officers.[132] Bulgarian officials complained that "the Greeks fall into chauvinistic hysteria when a Greek officer . . . visits" and that during their tours the officers "obnoxiously draw the borders of Bulgaria, sometimes on the slope of the Balkan mountains, other times on the Mandra River."[133] The Bulgarian Army Chief General Lukov emphasized to General Chrétien that the Greek officers' actions constituted "intervention in our internal affairs" that went "against all ideas of national sovereignty," and warned that if the missions did not come to an end, the Bulgarian military would intervene.[134] Gradually Mazarakis observed "a negative change in the policies of the Allies," who had come to object to his continued tours among the Greeks.[135] In the end General Chrétien decided that Mazarakis's actions were not allowed under the armistice provisions and prohibited all tours of Greek officers in Bulgaria. In May 1920 Colonel Mazarakis departed from Bulgaria.[136]

131. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 3, a.e. 1382, l. 56. Stanimaka Artillery Brigade Commander to MV, 12 January 1919.

132. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 3, a.e. 1382, ll. 107, 29. MV to MVRI, 6 January 1919; MVRI to General Chrétien, 7 January 1919.

133. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 3, a.e. 1382, l. 9. Burgas District Chief to MVRI, 31 April 1919.

134. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 3, a.e. 1382, l. 48. MV to General Chrétien, 18 January 1919

135. IAM, GDM, file 83. ESA to Army Headquarters, 1 January 1919. See also Kotzageorgi-Zymari, "The Greek Military Mission," 380–386.

136. IAIE, 1919, A/5/II, 4. ESA to IE, 5 February 1919. Mazarakis continued to shape the work of the Military Mission from Salonica until the formal reconstitution of the Greek Embassy in August 1920. See Kotzageorgi-Zymari, "The Greek Military Mission," 384, 387.

With his actions in Bulgaria, Mazarakis continued the inertia of national hostility and constant warfare into the postwar period. The Colonel believed that Bulgaria, now under Allied control, enjoyed only limited sovereignty, whereas Greece, being a wartime winner, enjoyed special privileges. Further, he wished to revive Greek national activism and rally all Greeks in Bulgaria as members of a nationally conscious minority whose rights the Allies would now protect. Yet Allied officers did not welcome his flamboyant attitude, for on the eve of the peace treaty negotiations they wished to tame the violent language of wartime propaganda. National activism had its apparent limits, as the Greek officers came to be perceived as extremists who did not abide by the principles of the new international order that was to be built upon the mutual respect of each nationality. At the same time, even though there were signs of revived Greek national fervor, not all members of the Greek communities in Bulgaria came forward to express and support Greek unity.

Debating the Future of the Minority

The disunity of the Greek population was evident in the numerous postwar proposals on how to handle the situation after the Great War. In his Fourteen Points President Woodrow Wilson had stated that relations in the postwar Balkans should be determined "along historically established lines of allegiance and nationality."[137] With the approaching Paris Peace Conference in early 1919, representatives of the Greeks in Bulgaria published various petitions that used the language of historical rights to claim that, despite all difficulties, the population had remained "Greek in a Greek land."[138] However, opinion was divided among Greek leaders regarding their future. Some supported Greek territorial expansion up to the Balkan Mountains which would entail the incorporation of Eastern Rumelia into Greece, whereas others requested extensive autonomy which would allow the restoration of their communities in Bulgaria. When the Venizelos government promoted a third option, emigration, many Bulgarian Greeks rejected that possibility.[139] Despite the perception of injustice perpetrated against them during the wars, the Greeks remained divided in their expectations and demands.

Religious circles promoted the ceding of the territories of the once autonomous province of Eastern Rumelia to Greece. In late 1918 the former Patriarchist bishops of Plovdiv/Philippoupolis, Mesemvria, Varna, and Anhialo/Anchialos, expelled from Bulgaria in 1906, composed a petition that described as their goal "the unification with Mother Greece." Adopting

137. "President Wilson's Fourteen Points, 8 January 1918." URL: http://wwi.lib.byu.edu/index.php/President_Wilson%27s_Fourteen_Points (accessed 13 June 2008).

138. IAIE, 1919, A/5/II, 5. Petition from Varna, January 1919.

139. These two options are discussed in Megas, *Anatoliki Romilia*, 40; and Emmanouil Papadopoulos, "Ta dikaia tou en Voreio Thraki Ellinismou," *ATLGT* 9 (1942–43): 75–76.

the language of "inalienable historical rights," they explained the need for territorial change: "The inhabitants of Eastern Rumelia, the indigenous population of this land, know well that their motherland, which constitutes the northern part of Thrace, is Greek . . . and that the ideals of the Greek spirit [in the area] have remained immutable and incorruptible." Trying to affirm Greek historical rights since antiquity, the Ecumenical Church fathers juxtaposed references to Polybius and Thucydides concerning the ethnic composition of the region with examples of the persecutions inflicted on the Greek communities in 1906 and 1914. Because it was "no longer possible to imagine that, following this just, liberating war, the [Greeks] could . . . be submerged again in the darkness of slavery . . . under the tyrannical yoke of defeated Bulgaria," the bishops requested that the Paris Peace Conference allow the "national revival" of the Bulgarian Greeks through their incorporation in Greece.[140] In line with this argument, other petitions suggested that the Greek Army occupy Eastern Rumelia to guarantee its incorporation into Greece, defining as their objective "the liberation of the entire Greek Eastern Rumelia from the Bulgarian yoke."[141] This demand for Greek expansion in the north was counter to the position of the Venizelos government. Yet after years of struggle with Bulgarian authorities, during which the Patriarchist bishops had lost their dioceses in Bulgaria, these religious leaders now turned to history to claim the just rights of their flock.

Greeks from Stanimaka/Stenimachos articulated the second alternative proposal to reinstate the autonomy of the Greeks in Bulgaria under the supervision of the Greek state. Adopting the rhetoric of self-determination that became prevalent after the war, the Greek population now also started to systematically use the term "minority" to define itself in opposition to the Bulgarian majority in its native lands. In January 1919 some 1,208 individuals composed a petition requesting the restoration of the autonomous status of Eastern Rumelia, which would guarantee extensive minority rights and independent religious and educational institutions for the Greeks.[142] A proposal from Varna suggested that the Greeks in the area should be organized as a canton based on the Swiss model, with "complete self-government under the League of Nations," the return of communal properties, and guarantees for their "freedom of expression." Other demands included compensation to all Greeks for damages incurred in 1906.[143] Bulgarian Greek representatives currently in Athens also supported minority rights. In October 1918 the Pan-Thracian Union discussed the future of Thrace (including Eastern Rumelia) at a time when Bulgaria,

140. IAMB, Archive 256, file 1, B, doc. 29. Letter of Benjamin of Philippoupolis, Nikiphoros of Mesemvria, Nikodimos of Varna and Konstantinos of Anchialos, 10 December 1918.

141. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 3, a.e. 1382, l. 75. MVRI to MVRNZ, 27 January 1919.

142. IAIE, 1919, A/5/II, 4. Greeks from Stenimachos, 14 January 1919; and TsDA, f. 176k, op. 3, a.e. 1382, l. 74. Plovdiv Military Police Section to MV, 7 February 1919.

143. IAIE, 1919, A/5/II, 5. Petition from Varna, 21 January 1919; and IAIE, 1919, A/5/II, 4. Letter from Varna, October 1918.

Greece, and the Ottoman Empire all claimed the right to incorporate the territory.[144] Regarding the Greeks in Bulgaria, the Union insisted that the Bulgarian authorities should "recognize the colonies as a legal entity and return all churches, monasteries, schools, [and] foundations plundered . . . since 1906." The organization also asserted that the Bulgarian government should allow the repatriation of all people who were deported or emigrated during the wars and guarantee to the Greeks "the right of free consciousness, the use of their own language, the practice of their religion, and the self-government of their ecclesiastical, educational, and communal matters."[145] Contrary to the clergy's reliance on history, these petitions made legal arguments by emphasizing the minority clauses of the Berlin Treaty of 1878, the autonomy of Eastern Rumelia until 1885, and the existence of Greek communities until 1914. Instead of seeking the incorporation of their localities in Greece, they focused on securing minority rights for all Greeks in Bulgaria.

In contrast to these two proposals, the Venizelos government had a different understanding of minority issues because it sought a solution to the status of the Bulgarian Greeks considering Greek national interests as a whole. In early 1919 Prime Minister Venizelos expressed his belief that further Greek territorial expansion to the north into Bulgaria was not realistic.[146] Instead, the prime minister sought to design a comprehensive plan addressing the minority question in the entire Balkan Peninsula. In his investigation of the situation of the Bulgarian Greeks, the Greek Military Mission chief Mazarakis considered how the implementation of minority rights in the postwar Balkans would affect Greece and her diversely populated new lands. These concerns explain why the Colonel, despite his colorful style and forceful rhetoric, only carefully pursued concrete actions regarding the status of the Greeks.

Mazarakis worried that the restored rights of the Greeks in Bulgaria would lead to reciprocal Bulgarian demands regarding the Bulgarians in Greece. In late 1918 the Colonel wrote to Venizelos that the fate of the "one hundred thousand pure Greeks [*akraiphaneis Ellines*]" in Bulgaria was contingent upon the need "to recognize certain regions [in the new Greek lands] as Bulgarian in exchange for the survival of the pure Greeks here." Mazarakis urged the government first to decide "if the reopening [of

144. The Pan-Thracian Union, which represented some twenty two associations of Greeks from various areas in Thrace, was part of the Joint Commission of Unredeemed Greeks, which advocated the incorporation of Asia Minor and Thrace in Greece. See IAMB, Archive 256, file 1, A, doc. 15. Statement of the Joint Committee of the Unredeemed Greeks, 13 October 1918. While Bulgaria pushed the issue of an autonomous Thrace, the Ottoman Empire insisted on a plebiscite and Greece wanted the entire area incorporated into Greece. See Ormandzhiev, *Trakiĭskiiat vâpros;* Ivan Altânov, *Mezhdusâiuznicheska Trakiia* (Sofia, 1921); and Anastas Ishirkov, *Zapadna Trakiia i dogovorât za mir v Nioĭ* (Sofia, 1920).

145. IAMB, Archive 256, file 1, A, doc. 17. Petition of the Pan-Thracian Union, 23 October 1918. See also IAMB, Archive 256, file 1, A, doc. 20. Draft resolution concerning Thrace.

146. TsDA, f. 322k, op. 1, a.e. 383, ll. 1–94. BLA to MVRI, 15 May 1920.

Bulgarian churches in Macedonia] under the condition of reciprocity is beneficial to Greece" and only then adopt firm policies regarding the Greeks in Bulgaria.[147] In January 1919 Bulgarian Prime Minister Teodorov expressed his position that the closure of Greek churches and schools "reciprocated the situation of the Bulgarians in Macedonia and the Bulgarian Church there," because all Exarchist churches were closed after Macedonia was ceded to Greece.[148] The Colonel agreed that the "popular revolt" against the Greeks in Bulgaria during the wars stemmed from the "uncontrolled deportations of Bulgarian families from the border areas" of Greece, and he suggested a temporary halt in the expulsion of Bulgarians to ease the situation of the Greeks.[149] But Mazarakis also hinted to his superiors that guaranteeing the freedom of the Greek minority in Bulgaria would have "purely humanistic purposes, possibly detrimental to our national idea," because the reinstitution of Greek schools in Bulgaria could result in the reopening of Bulgarian schools in Macedonia.[150] Thus he did not insist on measures that would secure the formal functioning of the Greek communities but could also justify the establishment of Bulgarian educational and religious institutions in Greece.

Because the Bulgarian government appeared likely, during the peace treaty negotiations, to link the minority status of the Bulgarian Greeks to the Greek state's treatment of its own minorities, Venizelos started promoting the idea of emigration. This was not a new idea for the Greek leader who had proposed, in 1915, a "racial adjustment" between Bulgarians and Greeks in Eastern Macedonia.[151] In line with this new proposal, Mazarakis acknowledged that "[Bulgarian] pressures will force many [Greeks] to leave Bulgaria for good and save their nationality."[152] When Venizelos headed for Paris, he instructed Mazarakis to acquaint the leaders of the Bulgarian Greeks with the project. Instead of seeking impossible territorial expansion or raising thorny issues of minority rights, emigration would solve the conflict between Bulgarians and Greeks once and for all. But when Greek agents disseminated this idea among the Greeks, the population was divided; though some supported the proposal, others opposed it firmly and reestablished their contacts with their Bulgarian neighbors.[153] In early 1919 it was not clear if the idea of emigration would succeed at all, and because

147. IAM, GDM, file 82. ESA to Army Headquarters, 19 December 1918/1 January 1919. The figure of one-hundred thousand included Thrace.

148. IAIE, 1919, A/5/II, 4. ESA to IE, 5/18 January 1919.

149. IAIE, 1919, A/5/II, 4. ESA to IE, 5 February 1919.

150. IAIE, 1919, A/5/II, 4. ESA to IE, 5/18 January 1919.

151. In order to secure Bulgarian neutrality if Greece entered the Great War against the Ottoman Empire, Venizelos, in 1915, proposed the idea of ceding the Kavala area to Bulgaria and implementing a voluntary exchange of Bulgarians and Greeks there. See Ladas, *The Exchange of Minorities*, 28–29, and chapter 4 in this volume, 126.

152. IAM, GDM, file 82. ESA to Army Headquarters, 19 December 1918/1 January 1919.

153. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 3, a.e. 1382, l. 81. Plovdiv Military Police Section to MV, 27 February 1919.

so many visions for the future of the Greeks in Bulgaria existed, a clear-cut solution to the national question seemed impossible.

The Inability to Fix Nations

On the eve of the Paris Peace Conference, the national configuration in the postwar Balkans seemed as murky as ever. Following the policies of ethnic dilution implemented during the three wars, Bulgaria and Greece continued to make claims based on ethnological factors. But on the eve of the peace treaty negotiations, political considerations were becoming increasingly important because of the emerging split regarding how the architects of the postwar settlement would treat the wartime winners and losers. The wars had demonstrated that the national composition of any territory could be "corrected" with systematic policies, but it remained with the Paris Conference to decide which countries would continue national consolidation in the contested lands. Regarding the nationality of the various populations, despite the continuous attempts of national brokers to solidify their allegiances, the three wars had kept their loyalties in flux.

When Mazarakis started his mission in Bulgaria, his role was not only to remind the "pure" Greeks of their origins but also to encourage some more fickle souls, such as the Gagauz, to support the Greek cause. The inability to pin down nationality was evident in another of his endeavors: the repatriation of children who had been brought to Bulgaria from Aegean Macedonia during the mass internment of Greeks from the area in 1916. For two years after the war Greek and Bulgarian diplomats were occupied with the issue of five hundred "minor Greeks," mostly orphans, "abducted" (according to Greek officials) or "saved" (according to Bulgarian diplomats) during Bulgarian military operations in Aegean Macedonia. Bulgarian officials maintained that adoptive Bulgarian families took care of these minors or that the children remained voluntarily in the country to earn their living. But Greek politicians worried that the children would forget their Greek origins and insisted that "this [issue] concerns minors and their will cannot be taken into account."[154] To secure Bulgarian cooperation, the Greek government decided to keep two Bulgarian POWs as "hostages" for each unreturned Greek child, all of them from the officers' ranks.[155] The Bulgarian government compiled detailed lists and urged police authorities to uncover all Greek children adopted by Bulgarian families or kept as servants in Bulgarian households.[156] Throughout 1919 and 1920 the Bulgarian government returned some 428 children to Greece. Officials forcibly separated

154. IAIE, 1919, A/5/II, 4. ESA to IE, 15 January 1919; TsDA, f. 176k, op. 4, a.e. 1515, l. 344. Stamboliïski to Nansen, 22 March 1920; IAIE, 1920, 30.1.2. EPS to IE, 4/17 December 1920; TsDA, f. 176k, op. 4, a.e. 1515, l. 204. Memo of MVRI, 23 April 1920.

155. IAIE, 1920, 30.1.2. ESA to IE, 27 May 1920.

156. TsDA, f. 370k, op. 6, a.e. 10, ll. 403–404, 184. MVRNZ to MVRI, 29 April and 24 May 1920.

some children from their loving foster parents and rescued others from abusive masters who exploited their labor. The Greek authorities continued to submit new names, and as late as 1921 about six hundred Bulgarian officers were still in Greek custody.[157]

Intriguing in this controversy was the vagueness of the terms "pure Greek" and "pure Bulgarian" used profusely by both sides. For the Greek government, "Greek" signified all children of "Greek parents," but the definition was problematic because it could include some "nationally unfavorable" (*ethnikos asimphoros*) elements from the wartime Bulgarian refugees.[158] The Bulgarian officials were also careful not to send to Greece "persons of Bulgarian nationality [*narodnost*] born in areas currently in Greece," and warned the local administration not to solicit any repatriations that had not been initiated by the Greek government.[159] When controversies arose regarding a particular child's nationality, a commission under French supervision examined the case and questioned the child, trying to determine whether a minor who claimed to be Bulgarian was actually Greek.[160] The inability to coin a precise definition of nationality perpetuated the "never-ending claims and searches" for "unclear, incorrect, [and] nonexistent individuals." The Bulgarians were frustrated by the endless lists that were full of mistakes and often included "Jewish or Turkish or Bulgarian children of dubious Thracian origins." Every so often "pure Bulgarian" children had to prove their descent with birth certificates and witnesses.[161]

These cases illustrate that, after six years and three wars over national allegiances, officials were yet to determine how to deal with their "minority" citizens and recognize their "pure" co-nationals. Politicians consistently used national ideology to mobilize huge masses of people behind state-sponsored initiatives, but they also observed the opportunistic choice of an advantageous nationality among their subjects. While officials generously used essentialist arguments as rhetorical devices for recruiting national converts, the practices of the bureaucrats and national activists as well as the choices of the population revealed the constructed nature of nationality. This dual nature of nationhood became clear during the wars. Between 1912 and 1918 officials marked vast segments of the population with a certain nationality and handled them accordingly, mobilizing some individuals in the army, recruiting others as spies, or taxing, interning, detaining, and killing

157. IAIE, 1921, 14.3.1. *Zora*, 6 February 1921; and IAIE, 1921, 14.3.2. The Council of the League of Nations to the Greek government, 2 March 1921.

158. IAIE, 1920, 30.1.2. EPS to IE, 4/17 December 1920.

159. TsDA, f. 370k, op. 6, a.e. 11, l. 18. MVRI to MVRNZ, 6 July 1920.

160. In each case, the minors (at the time of their arrival in Bulgaria) or their parents had to provide evidence to support their claim of a particular nationality. Each supplicant submitted a written declaration of his or her consent to stay in Bulgaria; explanations included everything from clichés of national loyalty (possibly written under pressure), economic considerations, the desire to avoid oppressive relatives, and concerns about being recruited into the Greek Army. See declarations in TsDA, f. 370k, op. 6, a.e. 11.

161. TsDA, f. 370k, op. 6, a.e. 10, ll. 403–404. MVRNZ to MVRI, 29 June 1920.

still others. In addition to outright assimilation, the authorities expected that some policies would produce a voluntary blending into the nation, and they showed leniency and offered incentives to selected individuals. This is how they managed to produce "pure" Greeks and Bulgarians who, supposedly, eagerly followed the dictates of national ideology. However, when chance permitted, these same people frequently made choices that relegated national priorities to the margins: they fled dangerous regions devastated by war; they settled in areas where they could support their families; or they stayed put and adopted the dominant national culture because they did not want to start their lives over. A large number of people would have preferred to be nationally inactive and left alone, to think locally, not nationally, but this was an elusive option in this game of assigning territories and souls to nation-states. The new borders were responsible for creating and instilling new habits of mind, and people resourcefully sought ways to circumvent the inevitability of "ethnic unmixing." On the eve of the Paris Peace Conference, fixing nationality remained an open-ended project, and Bulgarian and Greek officials continued their efforts to solidify their nations.

4

An Exercise in Population Management, 1919–1925

The Black Sea town of Mesemvria was in turmoil in the summer of 1925. Following the arrival of Bulgarian refugees, many Greeks received threatening letters, became victims of extortion, or saw on their homes black crosses or inscriptions that read "you shall be killed if you stay." Some moved in temporarily with relatives in nearby cities, and others sold their properties and prepared to leave their native town for good. In a matter of months, almost the entire Greek population departed for Greece, using the provisions of the Convention for Voluntary Emigration of Minorities that Bulgaria and Greece had signed in 1919 to arrange their relocation. Then, "one melancholic day . . . a steamboat weighed anchor in the port of Mesemvria. The Greek government had sent it to take the inhabitants of Mesemvria on a far-away, painful trip. Everyone gathered onshore with their luggage. A mute, harrowing drama unfolded in every house [as] all inhabitants left with tears and sighs from the homes where they had been born and where they had lived. Several hours later the unfortunate emigrants had boarded the boat. The farther away they sailed, the worse the pain of Mesemvrians who were departing from their beloved motherland. The town, with its long Greek history and numerous Byzantine monuments, remained without its soul."[1] In October 1925 some 350 Greek homes were empty, awaiting their new Bulgarian residents.[2]

This dramatic departure was surprising, given that in the previous five years the inhabitants of Mesemvria had resisted all promises that the Greek government had given them in exchange for permanent resettlement in

1. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 4. a.e 2885, l. 219. MVRI to MVRNZ, 8 August 1924; Konstantinidis, *I Mesemvria tou Evxeinou,* 59–61.
2. IAIE, 1925, G/63.5. EPP to IE, 20 October 1925.

Greece. In 1919 and 1920 Greek officials had classified them as unlikely emigrants, since the population appeared extremely devoted to its traditions but firmly refused to emigrate despite the financial assurances of Greek agents. Because of this unwavering decision to remain in Bulgaria, Greek diplomats, in the early 1920s, had hoped to secure minority rights for the vibrant community that boasted numerous Byzantine churches.[3] A similar radical shift in attitudes to emigration was evident in other Greek communities during the mid-1920s; from Plovdiv/Philippoupolis to Varna to Burgas/Pirgos, many reluctant individuals uneasily decided to resettle in Greece. This chapter examines how, despite the desire of many Greeks to remain in their native land, various events intervened between 1920 and 1925 that convinced many members of the minority to abandon their homes and become refugees.

The relocation of the Greeks occurred pursuant to the provisions of the Convention for Emigration of Minorities signed by Bulgaria and Greece in 1919. Unlike other cases in eastern Europe, in which the option of emigration was outlined in clauses of the peace treaties concluded following the Great War, a separate Convention detailed the voluntary emigration of minorities between the two Balkan countries. This was the first experiment of controlled "ethnic unmixing" implemented by the newly constituted League of Nations after the war, and the stakes were high to demonstrate that a peaceful emigration of minorities, based on "the desire of those interested," could occur.[4] The agreement targeted approximately 350,000 individuals in both countries, and half of the minority populations were expected to emigrate. These included roughly eighty thousand Bulgarian Greeks, some of them already in Greece and others still in Bulgaria.[5] The League of Nations boasted that, after six years of prolonged military conflicts and recurrent refugee crises in the Balkans, it had discovered the mechanism for both solving the minority question and satisfying the refugee populations. The Mixed Commission in charge of emigration insisted that the Convention did not sanction a population exchange but instead created an "individual contract between [the Commission] and each applicant" that guaranteed to fulfill the voluntary desire of each person regarding place of residence.[6] This was the first precedent of voluntary emigration based on individual rights, and the task of the League of Nations was to persuade the two countries, which had been fighting over territories, to prioritize the interests of their citizens.

Following the war Bulgaria signed the Treaty of Neuilly of 27 November 1919, which sanctioned further territorial losses and included numerous

3. IAIE, 1919, A/5/II, 4. ESA to IE, 5 February 1919 and 8 February 1920; IAIE, 1919, A/5/II, 5. Petition from the Burgas/Pirgos area, 5 March 1919.

4. Macartney, *National States and National Minorities,* 435–436.

5. For a more detailed examination of the Convention regarding both minorities, see Theodora Dragostinova, "Navigating Nationality in the Emigration of Minorities between Bulgaria and Greece, 1919–1941" EEPS 23 (May 2009): 185–212.

6. Mixed Commission on Greco-Bulgarian Emigration, *Memorandum,* 3, 10–11.

harsh provisions. To the south, the country lost control of Western Thrace, which was placed under Allied control pending a final decision on the future of the province. To the west, Bulgaria ceded to Serbia the Strumitsa, Tsaribrod, and Bosilegrad areas. To the north, the treaty confirmed the loss of southern Dobrudzha to Romania. It mandated a reduction of the Bulgarian army to twenty thousand men and obliged the country to pay reparations worth $445 million to the Allied powers. Article 48 allowed Bulgaria an economic outlet to the Aegean Sea but did not specify the details. Articles 50 through 57 contained terms for the protection of minorities, including the option of voluntary emigration, which was detailed in the Convention for Voluntary and Reciprocal Emigration of Minorities that Bulgaria and Greece signed along with the peace treaty.[7] No other document since the Berlin Treaty of 1878 incurred more frustration and indignation in Bulgaria society. Because of its punitive territorial terms, which expanded the losses of the Second Balkan War, Bulgarians perceived Neuilly as a "second national catastrophe."

Greece, on the other hand, emerged from the war as the undisputed winner. The San Remo Conference in April 1920, which approved the final framework of the peace treaty with the Ottoman Empire, placed Western Thrace under Greek administration despite Ottoman demands for a plebiscite and Bulgarian proposals for autonomy. When the Ottoman Empire signed the Sèvres Treaty on 10 August 1920, Greece also received most of Eastern Thrace, the islands of Imbros and Tenedos located close to the Straits, and the right to administer the Izmir (Smyrna in Greek) area pending a plebiscite.[8] To abide by the new spirit of self-determination, Greece accepted the Sèvres Treaty Concerning the Protection of Minorities, which served to hinder radical demographic change in the diversely populated Greek lands by guaranteeing the rights of all Greek citizens.[9] Greek leaders felt one step closer to the Megali Idea and believed that they could build on the postwar settlement to further their country's agenda in the Near East.

In this context Bulgaria and Greece began negotiations related to the Convention for Emigration of Minorities. The implementation of the Convention was linked to two major problems in interwar Europe, refugees and minority rights, while also testing the ability of the League of Nations to mediate in sensitive matters between states. Once the borders were set, a new wave of refugees materialized in the Balkan borderlands.

7. "Treaty of Peace between the Allied and Associated Powers and Bulgaria, and Protocol and Declaration signed at Neuilly-sur-Seine, 27 November 1919," *The Treaties of Peace, 1919–1923,* vol. 1 (New York, 1924); B. Kesiakov and D. Nikolov, *Nioĭski dogovor. S obiasnitelni belezhki* (Sofia, 1926).

8. "Treaty of Peace between the Allied and Associated Powers and Turkey signed at Sèvres on 10 August 1920," *The Treaties of Peace, 1919–1923,* vol. 2 (New York, 1924). For Greek foreign policy priorities after the war, see Michael Llewellyn Smith, *Ionian Vision: Greece in Asia Minor, 1919–1922* (Ann Arbor, 1998).

9. "Treaty concerning the Protection of Minorities in Greece signed at Sèvres, 10 August 1920," *League of Nations Treaty Series* 711 (1924): 243–265.

Bulgaria received more than one hundred thousand new refugees who fled their birthplaces after the latter were ceded to neighboring countries, and more than half of them came from Greece.[10] At the same time Greece initiated the repatriation of its wartime refugees. In 1919 and 1920 the Greek government oversaw the return of 140,000 Greek refugees who had fled Thrace and Asia Minor before the Bulgarian or the Ottoman armies. Greece also accepted some fifty-five thousand new refugees from southern Russia and the Caucuses, whom the government strategically settled in Macedonia close to the Bulgarian border.[11] Refugee movements continued after the war and tested the abilities of the Versailles order to secure the normalization of the area in peacetime.

With the Neuilly and Sèvres Treaties, the Bulgarian and Greek governments had made a commitment to minority rights for all their citizens without regard to ethnicity, language, or religion. But the issue remained contentious because of the different ways each country treated the minority question. The Bulgarian government wanted to preserve its minorities in Romania, Greece, and Serbia so that it could request a revision of the territorial terms of the Neuilly Treaty, and it was eager to support a binding minority protection mechanism with its neighbors. The Greek government, however, was preoccupied with securing Greek administration in its new lands and wanted to prevent the return of the wartime agitators who could instigate unrest among its minorities.[12] The League of Nations realized that the Convention for Emigration had the potential for transforming the members of the two minorities into refugees. It mediated between the parties, attempting to protect the minority populations without challenging the new borders or undermining the regime of sovereignty created in 1919.[13]

While representatives of Bulgaria, Greece, and the League of Nations debated all these considerations, the populations on the ground faced a complex dilemma: to resettle as refugees among their ethnic kin or to remain minorities under a foreign administration. The Mixed Commission in charge of emigration believed that people would follow their "national sympathies."[14] But the behavior of the population revealed that individuals did not automatically seek to unite with the nation-state of their ethnicity. Many preferred to remain in their places of birth and were willing to make major concessions with their nationality in order to integrate into the host society. This was possible because the Convention sanctioned voluntary

10. For the refugees in interwar Bulgaria, see Theodora Dragostinova, "Competing Priorities, Ambiguous Loyalties: Challenges of Socioeconomic Adaptation and National Inclusion of the Interwar Bulgarian Refugees," *Nationalities Papers* 34 (2006): 549–574. A summary of the statistics is available in ibid., 554. The most detailed account on the Bulgarian refugees remains Dimitrov, *Nastaniavane i ozemliavane.*

11. Pallis, "Racial Migrations," 318–319.

12. Macartney, *National States and National Minorities,* 437.

13. Susan Pedersen, "Back to the League of Nations," *AHR* 112 (2007): 1091–1117.

14. Macartney, *National States and National Minorities,* 437.

emigration, which empowered individuals by providing them with a range of options on how to interact with their governments. Frequently people utilized the voluntary provisions and ambiguous criteria of the Convention for their personal ends and engaged in intense negotiations with officials to benefit their own situations.[15] In the case of the Bulgarian Greeks, the affluent minority hesitated to abandon its places of birth for a long time, and in the face of growing national tensions, many decided to remain in Bulgaria. Despite this uncertainty as to whether the national principle would prevail in the execution of the Convention, at a certain point nationality became a reason for conflict, and this chapter explains the dynamics of this turning point.

Bulgarization or Emigration

In late 1918, on the eve of the Paris Peace Conference, Greek Prime Minister Elevtherios Venizelos promoted the idea of a population exchange between Bulgaria and Greece as the best way to solve the minority problems and territorial conflicts between the two countries. As the talks progressed in France, Greek officials stationed in Bulgaria disseminated the idea of emigration among the Bulgarian Greeks. Venizelos entrusted this task to Colonel Konstantinos Mazarakis-Ainian, chief of the Greek Military Mission in Bulgaria. While the prime minister championed the idea of a population exchange internationally, Colonel Mazarakis worked locally to recruit the minority for emigration. These carefully planned and well-coordinated preparations aimed at bringing together the agenda of the Greek state with the interests of the Greeks in Bulgaria. In the past individuals had not always followed official Greek policies concerning emigration, so the Greek agents recognized that they had to convince all members of the minority that resettlement was their best option after the war ended.

Colonel Mazarakis believed that, without solid guarantees for the nationality of the minority, the government should at least encourage those in the agricultural areas to resettle. Otherwise these Greeks "would be Bulgarized or annihilated [*tha ekvoulgaristhoun i tha exontothoun*]."[16] In early 1919 the Colonel, claiming that Bulgarian officials had subjected their Greek citizens to repression, asked the Bulgarian prime minister Teodor Teodorov, "What is your goal with these pressures, Bulgarization or expatriation [*tov ekvoulgarismo i ton ekpatrismo*]"? He warned Bulgarian officials to pursue nationalization peacefully, through mixed marriages and other amicable assimilation strategies, because outright Bulgarian pressures would unleash an "explosion of feelings" among the Greeks. If

15. For an anthropological perspective on the function of petitions to the League of Nations, which emphasizes the agency of the population, see Jane Cowan, "Who's Afraid of Violent Language? Honour, Sovereignty and Claims-Making in the League of Nations," *Anthropological Theory* 3 (2003): 271–291.

16. IAM, GDM, file 82. ESA to Army Headquarters, 10/23 November 1918.

forced migration occurred, "this indigenous population . . . will transfer to Greece its hatred to [all Bulgarians]" and complicate relations between the two countries.[17]

Prime Minister Venizelos summarized, succinctly, the Greek dilemma regarding the minority: "The future survival of the Greeks [in Bulgaria] is extremely problematic and would most probably lead to their voluntary loss of national consciousness [*ekousia apoleia ethnismou*]." For that reason he recommended the "departure from Bulgarian territory and establishment in the Greek new lands as soon as possible." Venizelos gave permission to Mazarakis to promote the idea of emigration among the Greeks and promised that the peace treaty with Bulgaria would include articles regarding the compensation of property, with special attention to the substantial communal properties they had lost in 1906.[18]

Colonel Mazarakis issued a proclamation, encouraging the Greeks in Bulgaria to settle in Greece: "The motherland [*patris*] does not wish to see her children in foreign lands [*en xenais chorais*] anymore, surrounded by a hostile environment and constantly facing a myriad of dangers. [She] wants everyone in her bosom and under her scepter." He explained that, despite the "sincere patriotism" of the population, the Greek government "seriously worried about the national feelings, not so much, needless to say, of those alive today but more so of their heirs who will stay here and suffer countless pressures regarding their nationality." This concern for future generations obliged the Greeks to abandon Bulgaria and resettle in Greece. Mazarakis promised that in the new Great Greece, "just government, equality, and rule of law will secure the happiness of everybody, whether strong or weak, rich or poor." He comforted the prospective emigrants, claiming that, "the government would make every effort . . . to provide all conveniences" so that after resettlement the new citizens "would enjoy not only freedom but also all benefits, with no exception, of a wealthy life." By relocating to Greece, he told them, "you will accomplish a great deal for your own sake and for the Great Motherland."[19]

Mazarakis planned to establish commissions in each Greek locality, which would elect representatives to communicate the demands of the individual communities to the government. The commissions would have to consider practical issues, such as the choice between mass emigration or gradual relocation over time; the evaluation of the economic assets available to each community and the property owned by each person; a realistic time frame for satisfactory property liquidations; special provisions for the free professions, lawyers, and doctors; and the collection of information about individual and communal losses during the anti-Greek movement of

17. IAIE, 1919, A/5/II, 4. ESA to IE, 5/18 January 1919.

18. IAIE, 1919, A/5/II, 4. Undated telegram of Venizelos, probably from early January 1919.

19. IAIE, 1919, A/5/II, 4. ESA Proclamation, 14 January 1919.

1906. The goal was "to convince everybody that emigration to Greece [wa]s imperative."[20]

The Colonel then organized a meeting of Greek merchants, landowners, and lawyers at the Military Mission. The leaders opined that they "would prefer, of course, to remain in their places of birth, but only under the condition of complete, untainted freedom of [their] nationality, education, and religion under European control." But Bulgarian pressures following the withdrawal of the Allies could make emigration necessary.[21] During the meeting the leaders asked for concrete answers to a number of matter-of-fact questions. Would the Bulgarian government create difficulties in the process of emigration? What would happen to people with pending civil or criminal law suits in Bulgarian courts? Would it be possible to transfer Greek litigants to Greek courts where they would receive fair treatment? How would individuals avoid restrictions on leaving the country in the case of financial obligations? Most important, how would potential emigrants deal with the appraisal of their properties given the wartime inflation in Bulgaria? Could they receive the value of their properties in Greek currency? Could urban real estate owners receive buildings of the same value in the large cities of Greece? The leaders also contended that the Greek state would have to secure the pensions of retired administrators and guarantee the availability of administrative, military, or political positions for current civil servants. They insisted that most Greeks preferred settlement in Thrace, if incorporated in Greece, because they had contacts in the area and were familiar with the climate, land quality, agricultural methods, and crafts practiced there.[22] The leaders concluded that 70 percent of the population, or some fifty-five to seventy thousand individuals (including residents of Western Thrace) could potentially emigrate but only if the Greek government allowed their gradual relocation from city to city, promised the reestablishment of each community in Greece, and guaranteed healthy localities for the new settlements.[23]

The need to know how many people would emigrate prompted Mazarakis to conduct a census of all Greek communities in March 1919. The Colonel asked local leaders to encourage people to participate, supervise the collection of statistical data, and send the information to the Mission. Mazarakis wanted to determine the main socioeconomic categories of the Greek inhabitants, focusing on occupations and community property.[24] The census revealed a division in the communities regarding their economic standing and national commitment. Inhabitants of the big cities including Plovdiv/Philippoupolis, Burgas/Pirgos, and Varna, many of them well-educated merchants, preserved their Greek traditions jealously but, as an "indigenous

20. Ibid.
21. IAIE, 1919, A/5/II, 4. ESA to IE, 5 February 1919.
22. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 3, a.e. 1382, l. 81. Thracian Military Unit to MV, 27 February 1919.
23. IAIE, 1919, A/5/II, 4. ESA to IE, 5 February 1919.
24. IAIE, 1919, A/5/II, 4. ESA census instructions, 4 February 1919.

population" (*ithageneis*), they had a strong attachment to their native land. The Greeks in Plovdiv/Philippoupolis possessed a certain "cosmopolitanism," maintained "various connections with the Bulgarians because of mixed marriages, intermingling, and [economic] interests," and felt "flattered that the Bulgarians show[ed] an appreciation of their superior education." All these factors turned them into likely "objects of Bulgarization" (*ipokeimenoi eis ekvoulgarismon*). The salt producers and farmers in Anhialo/Anchialos were "talented, all very rich, industrious, [and] easily adaptable" to any condition, and thus "required much attention." The well-off fishermen of Mesemvria and Sozopol/Sozoupolis were also unlikely to emigrate and change their occupation.

The agricultural population showed some eagerness to resettle, but its commitment was far from clear. The "most uncompromising" (*phanatikoteroi*) Greeks were the farmers in the village of Biala/Aspros located south of Varna. The inhabitants of Kavakli (today Topolovgrad) and Karies (today Oreshnik) also appeared "enthusiastic" and supported emigration. The tobacco and vine growers around Stanimaka/Stenimachos, including those in the villages of Voden/Vodena and Kuklen/Kouklaina, were "patriotic and brave" but "not so firm" (*ochi toso statherous*). Mazarakis considered the eight to ten thousand Karakachani, scattered throughout the country, to be "authentic Greeks" (*agnoi Ellines*) but recognized that their transient lifestyle and lack of citizenship complicated the matter. Similarly the five thousand Gagauz that inhabited the areas north of Varna required much attention.[25] Finally, the fate of Western Thrace was undecided, but the government had to take precautions should these territories be granted to Bulgaria, as the Greeks there were "compact, pure, and thriving."[26]

The completion of the census undercut Mazarakis's hope for successful emigration, as many of the estimated 58,138 Greeks feared to assert their nationality publicly.[27] Occupational circumstances, economic concerns, lifestyles, and degrees of incorporation in Bulgarian society differed among the population, and this diversity made it implausible to act as a unified group. Mazarakis had the support of the elites in principle, yet all discussions were contingent upon the economic terms; the Bulgarian Greeks assured the Greek emissaries of their patriotism but strategically underscored that it was all a matter of money.[28] Some communities, such as Stanimaka/Stenimachos, sent representatives to Greece to investigate the availability of land for their relocation, but the population was divided about emigrating.[29]

25. The report indicates fifty thousand, but this was a typo.

26. IAIE, 1919, A/5/II, 4. ESA to IE, 5 February 1919.

27. This figure included the Gagauz and Karakachani but not the Greeks in Western Thrace. See IAIE, 1919, A/5/II, 5. ESA to IE, 29 March 1919. According to the 1920 Bulgarian census, 46,759 identified as Greeks, 3,075 as Karakachani, and 3,669 as Gagauz, totaling 53,503. See Kotzageorgi, *Oi Ellines tis Voulgarias*, 216.

28. IAIE, 1919, A/5/II, 5. Petition from the Burgas/Pirgos area, 5 March 1919.

29. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 3, a.e. 1382, l. 81. Thracian Military Unit to MV, 27 February 1919.

Although the Colonel frequently used the rhetoric of "Bulgarian pressures" in his communication with the Bulgarian Greek leaders, national loyalty did not persuade the Greeks to abandon their prosperous communities.[30]

After several months of hard work, Mazarakis concluded that the minority's departure from Bulgaria would cause "enormous damage" for both the Greek communities and the Greek state. First, it would leave the impression that the Greek government was incapable of protecting its minority in Bulgarian territory, and, second, the material consequences for the communities would be grave. The Colonel emphasized that the Bulgarians were not likely to subject the minority to "systematic persecutions" but they would practice more subtle policies of assimilation. A dilemma remained: "Can we convince them to emigrate or will they become Bulgarians?"[31] Emigration could save the Greeks from Bulgarization, but successful resettlement could occur only under two terms: firm property guarantees and excellent settlement conditions.[32] Both preconditions were absent in the early stages of the Greek government's emigration plans, and integration into Bulgarian society remained an option for many practically minded Greeks who felt that the wartime restrictions had gradually been lifted. Even supporters of the Greek cause such as Colonel Mazarakis started doubting whether Venizelos's idea of a population exchange could be successful and promoted the alternative of securing minority rights for the Greeks in Bulgaria.

The Convention for Voluntary Emigration of Minorities

The idea of a population exchange advanced by Venizelos had several unsuccessful precedents during the wartime decade. In November 1913 representatives of Bulgaria and the Ottoman Empire signed a convention sanctioning the "authorized reciprocal exchange" of Bulgarians and Turks in the fifty-kilometer zone of the new border established between the two countries in Eastern Thrace after the Second Balkan War. This initiative affected close to one hundred thousand Bulgarians and Turks who had already emigrated during the wars, but who were now presented with the opportunity to receive compensation for their properties. In May 1914 an agreement between the Ottoman Empire and Greece sanctioned the "spontaneous desire to emigrate" of Greeks in Thrace and the Izmir/Smyrna area as well as of Muslims in Macedonia and Epirus, a population of nearly one million. These two documents proposed voluntary population exchanges, created Mixed Commissions to supervise emigration, and provided for the appraisal of the emigrants' immovable properties.[33] The implementation of

30. IAIE, 1919, A/5/II, 4. Telegram of Mazarakis, 8 February 1919.
31. IAM, GDM, file 82. ESA to IE and Army Headquarters, 13 February 1919.
32. IAIE, 1919, A/5/II, 5. ESA to IE, 29 March 1919.
33. Ladas, *The Exchange of Minorities,* 18–23; Pentzopoulos, *The Balkan Exchange of Minorities,* 54–60; Sava Penkov, *Bâlgaro-grâtski maltsinstveni problemi sled Pârvata Svetovna voĭna* (Sofia, 1946), 451.

the two agreements stalled because of World War I, but many of their terms were adapted to later plans for minority exchange. In January 1915 Prime Minister Venizelos of Greece proposed to King Constantine that the Kavala region in Eastern Macedonia be ceded to Bulgaria in exchange for Bulgarian support or neutrality were Greece to enter the Great War fighting against the Ottoman Empire. The territorial shift would be accompanied by a voluntary "racial adjustment" of the Greek and Bulgarian populations on the two sides of the border. However, when Bulgaria sided with the Central Powers and started a campaign against Greek positions in Macedonia, Venizelos abandoned this idea.[34]

The plan for exchanging the Greek and Bulgarian minorities took a more concrete form when negotiations began in the Committee on New States and for the Protection of the Rights of Minorities, which was formed at the Paris Peace Conference to prepare the framework of the postwar settlements. Despite Mazarakis's failure to convince the Greeks in Bulgaria to embrace emigration, Venizelos, as president of the Greek delegation in Paris, promoted the view of a population exchange as the best way to achieve peace in the Balkans. In July 1919 he proposed to apply the idea of "reciprocal emigration" to all Balkan states and submitted a draft outlining a comprehensive population swap involving Bulgaria, Greece, the Ottoman Empire, and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. The goal was to achieve "a permanent settlement of the troubles which have so long affected the Balkans" by granting to members of minorities "the free right to emigrate into the State which they choose"; the presumption was that minority individuals would select "the State whose ethnic point of view they take." However, the newly constituted Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes did not wish to participate in an emigration of minorities that could trigger disorder in its diversely populated territories, and the growing nationalist movement in the Ottoman Empire made any agreement with that country unworkable. The talks focused on a voluntary population exchange between Bulgaria and Greece.[35]

As a result, the Committee on New States inserted an article in the draft peace treaty with Bulgaria obliging her to accept a "reciprocal and voluntary emigration" with Greece that would be detailed in a separate Convention annexed to the peace treaty. The criterion for emigration would be "the desire of those interested."[36] When presented with the proposal in November, the Bulgarian delegation was satisfied, believing that the minority protection provisions in the treaty would guarantee voluntary emigration. Prime Minister Alexander Stamboliĭski signed the Convention for Voluntary and Reciprocal Emigration of Minorities between Greece and Bulgaria together

34. Ladas, *The Exchange of Minorities,* 28–29; and Macartney, *National States and National Minorities,* 435.

35. Ladas, *The Exchange of Minorities,* 27–37, quotations at 30.

36. Macartney, *National States and National Minorities,* 435–436.

with the Neuilly Treaty on 27 November 1919. Articles 50 to 57 of the treaty assured "the full and complete protection of life and liberty to all inhabitants of Bulgaria without distinction of birth, nationality, language, race or religion," and guaranteed to minorities equality before the law, full political and civil rights, and the possibility to establish religious, educational, and social institutions. The Bulgarian government expected that the same provisions applied to its own minorities in neighboring countries. Moreover, the Sèvres Treaty for the Protection of Minorities in Greece of 10 August 1920 similarly outlined the "equality of rights" of all Greek citizens "without distinction of origin, language or religion." It allowed Bulgarian nationals to retain their immovable properties in Greece and recognized the right of the wartime refugees from the new territories of Greece currently in Bulgaria to repatriate and remain in Greece.[37]

The purpose of the Convention for Emigration was "to regulate the reciprocal and voluntary emigration of the racial, religious, and linguistic minorities between Greece and Bulgaria [and] to facilitate emigration in various ways and in particular by securing for the emigrants the payment of the real property that they leave behind."[38] Because the future of Thrace had not been decided by the signing of the Neuilly Treaty, initially the emigration only applied to the Greek and Bulgarian lands as of November 1919. A Mixed Commission was constituted within a year that made decisions by a majority vote in which the president (initially Lieutenant-Colonel A. C. Corfe) had a double vote.[39] The Commission emphasized "the *voluntary* and *individual* character of the emigration" and guaranteed that each declaration and property liquidation would be treated "on [an] individual basis."[40] Persons eighteen years of age could submit a declaration for emigration, and the initial deadline, changed numerous times, was two years from the constitution of the Mixed Commission. After acquiring a Certificate of Racial Minority, the emigrants permanently lost the citizenship of their country of origin, and the respective government took over their immovable properties. The Convention dealt briefly with the property liquidation process, but the Mixed Commission had to finalize the procedures for appraising, liquidating, and compensating the emigrants for their lost properties.[41]

37. "Treaty Concerning the Protection of Minorities in Greece signed at Sèvres, 10 August 1920."

38. Mixed Commission on Greco-Bulgarian Emigration, *Memorandum*, 2.

39. The Mixed Commission included the New Zealander Lieutenant-Colonel A. C. Corfe and the Belgian Commandant Marcel de Roover (replaced in 1926 by the Swiss Colonel James de Reynier) as neutral members and representatives of the Council of the League of Nations, the Bulgarian delegate Vladimir Robev, and the Greek representative Georgios Tsorbatzis (Tsorbatzoglou). See Ladas, *The Exchange of Minorities*, 41–74; Wurfbain, *L'échance Gréco-bulgare;* Commission Mixte d'émigration Gréco-Bulgare, *Rapport des members nommés par le Conseil de la Société des Nations* (Lausanne, 1932), 42, 60–61; G. P. Genov, *Nioĭskiiat dogovor i Bâlgariia* (Sofia, 1935).

40. Mixed Commission on Greco-Bulgarian Emigration, *Memorandum*, 2–4.

41. Ladas, *The Exchange of Minorities*, 41–48.

Greece and Bulgaria held opposing attitudes toward emigration. The Bulgarian government wanted to preserve the Bulgarian minority in Northern Greece so that Bulgaria could call for the revision of the peace treaty on ethnic grounds; for that reason, it tolerated the Greeks in Bulgaria and encouraged them to remain in their places of birth. Greece, however, wanting to purge its new territories of Bulgarians, pressured the population in its border areas to leave while at the same time trying to persuade the Greeks in Bulgaria to emigrate, colonize the "new lands," and strengthen the Greek element there. While Greece attempted to accelerate the completion of the exchange, Bulgaria, instead, emphasized the need to secure minority rights.[42] Based on the clauses of the Sèvres Minorities Treaty, the Bulgarian government insisted on the voluntary nature of the Convention and maintained that the only way to apply its provisions would be to allow those who were displaced during the wars to return to their places of birth. It claimed that the Convention pressured the minorities to emigrate and contradicted the minority clauses, which guaranteed the right of minorities to remain in their birthplaces or repatriate.[43] But Greek representatives tried to avoid the application of the Sèvres Minorities Treaty and emphasized that it contradicted the Convention for Emigration. Greek officials pursued the "wide implementation" of the Convention in order to purge "Bulgarian centers in our territory," notably in the borderlands of Macedonia.[44] These conflicting views of the minority provisions and the Convention clashed during the negotiations as the representatives of the two countries engaged in ferocious verbal combat to promote their respective government's stance.

Between 1920 and 1922 the Mixed Commission convened numerous times to discuss the specific procedures, financial regulations, and property provisions outlined in the Convention. The rules guaranteed special frontier posts, custom regulations, reduced transportation rates, the free export of cattle and movable property, and the exemption from payment of taxes or debts to banks before departure. Because the Commission recognized that officials could use the issue of property as a tool for pressuring the minorities, it secured the repeal of discriminatory laws and the return of properties that had been confiscated, sequestrated, or abandoned during the war.[45] The Commission encouraged representatives of the minorities to make preliminary visits to the other country in order to identify locations suitable for resettlement. The most important issue was the compensation for the

42. Macartney, *National States and National Minorities*, 439; TsDA, f. 176k, op. 5, a.e. 184, ll. 178–194. BLA to MVRI, 24 December 1924; and IAIE, 1921, 14.3.2. GDTh to IE, 19 February 1921.

43. TsDA, f. 322k, op. 1, a.e. 438, ll. 18, 24–26. BLA to MVRI, 9 and 13 August 1924; and IAIE, 1921, 12.6. Memo of Gr. rep., 12 August 1921.

44. IAIE, 1921, 14.3.2. GDTh to IE, 19 February 1921; and IAIE, 1921, 12.6. Memo of Gr. rep., 29 June 1921.

45. Mixed Commission on Greco-Bulgarian Emigration, *Memorandum*, 6, 12–13, 15.

properties left behind. The Commission had to apply separate provisions for the three main groups of beneficiaries: the future emigrants, those who had already emigrated, and the communities as legal entities. The initial idea was to make the property payments in cash, but the financial difficulties in both countries required that 10 percent of the property value be remitted in cash and 90 percent in interest-bearing bonds.[46] The two sides also had conflicting views on the religious communities in the two countries, and the Commission agreed to address the liquidation of communal properties in the future.[47]

Because of the unclear provisions set forth in the Convention, the Mixed Commission constantly altered regulations and deadlines alongside emerging problems or mediated the frequent controversies between the two parties. When in December 1920 the neutral members chose Salonica as the headquarters of the Commission, Greek diplomats objected because they feared that Bulgaria would intervene in the matters of the Bulgarian minority in Greece. Instead, they thought that the presence of Greek representatives in Bulgaria would encourage the Greek minority to emigrate.[48] Another problem emerged with the need to specify the actual populations targeted by the Convention and, in particular, whether to apply its provisions retroactively to the period before the wars or only to the population that had emigrated since 1912. Greek politicians wanted to include in the Convention the Greek refugees from 1906, whereas Bulgarian representatives wanted to preclude an automatic application of the Convention to the wartime Bulgarian refugees.[49] The two sides fiercely debated the definitions of "emigrant" (*metanastis* in Greek, *emigrant* in Bulgarian) and "refugee" (*prosphigas* in Greek, *bezhanets* in Bulgarian) as it determined who could submit a declaration for emigration according to the Convention or who could repatriate because of wartime forced migration according to the minority clauses.[50] The Mixed Commission divided the population between

46. The Mixed Commission could not reach an agreement on whether to compensate the emigrants according to the prewar value of their properties, the value at the signing of the Convention or the constitution of the Commission, or the day of the actual property liquidation. Further complications arose out of the Ottoman system of land tenure and the disruption of land ownership during the wars which made the identification of property lines extremely difficult. See IAIE, 1921, 14.4. Gr. rep. to IE, 27 October 1921; Mixed Commission on Greco-Bulgarian Emigration, *Memorandum,* 25; Macartney, *National States and National Minorities,* 441–442.

47. IAIE, 1921, 15.2. Gr. rep. to IE, 10 January 1922; and IAIE, 1922, 16.4.1. Mixed Commission, "A Short Statement of the Progress Made in the Application of the Greco-Bulgarian Convention on Reciprocal Emigration," 30 August 1922.

48. IAIE, 1920, 53.2. EPS to IE, 12 December 1920; and IAIE, 1921, 15.2. Gr. rep. to IE, 22 April 1921.

49. IAIE, 1921, 15.2. Gr. rep. to IE, 22 April 1921.

50. IAIE, 1921, 14.4. Gr. rep. to IE, 3 December 1921. For example, the Bulgarian government insisted on the repatriation of those Bulgarians who had been displaced during the wars from territories that had subsequently become Greek and maintained that these individuals were refugees, and not emigrants who had voluntary left their place of birth. The Greek politicians opposed repatriation on security grounds and, because they did not wish to allow "organs of Bulgarian propaganda" to return, they claimed that these were not "refugees" but persons

"émigrés" who had emigrated before the Convention came into effect and "emigrants" who were expected to submit declarations for emigration after 1919.[51] The Commission tried to prevent forced migration, made inquiries into "cases of direct or indirect pressure on the free choice," examined incidents between potential emigrants and local authorities, and allowed the withdrawal of declarations in the case of involuntary submission.[52]

The Mixed Commission intended to serve as a "plebiscite commission" and to assure the free choice of every individual.[53] Its members decided that the Convention should not focus exclusively on the emigration of the minorities but should also facilitate the return of refugees to their places of origin and supervise the recovery of all refugee properties abandoned between 1900 and 1920. This decision complicated its work further, as many of these individuals had been Ottoman citizens at the time of their resettlement. Nevertheless, this broad interpretation of the Convention was considered "wise and humane," for it allowed more forced migrants to recover their property. In this initial stage the two governments estimated that about 30,000 Greeks and 150,000 to 200,000 Bulgarians would be involved in the process of emigration.[54]

For the Greek communities, the good news was that both the 1906 and the wartime refugees could receive compensation for the destruction and abandonment of their properties in the past two decades. Whether the Greek minority communities still in Bulgaria would emigrate remained an open question. The Greek government staffed five regional sub-commissions with Greek representatives to facilitate the emigration of the population in Varna, Burgas/Pirgos, Kavakli, Plovdiv/Philippoupolis, and Stanimaka/Stenimachos.[55] However, because the work of the Commission proceeded slowly, the population was reluctant to declare its intent to emigrate before the concrete provisions of the Convention became apparent.

Colonizing the "New Lands" of Greece

With the Convention for Emigration, the Greek government hoped to pursue the homogenization of the "new lands" (*nees chores*) that it had acquired in Macedonia and Thrace after the wars. Because of the Muslim and Bulgarian minorities in these territories and their proximity to the borders, the Bulgarian Greeks, as an economically viable and nationally committed population, would contribute to the stabilization of the regions. In early

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"settled in Bulgaria." See IAIE, 1921, 12.6. Memos of Gr. rep., 12 August and 29 June 1921; and IAIE, 1921, 14.4. Gr. rep. to IE, 3 December 1921.

51. Macartney, *National States and National Minorities,* 440.

52. Mixed Commission on Greco-Bulgarian Emigration, *Memorandum,* 13–15.

53. Ibid., 6–8, 10, 15.

54. Macartney, *National States and National Minorities,* 438–439; and IAIE, 1922, 16.4.1. Mixed Commission, "A Short Statement of the Progress Made in the Application of the Greco-Bulgarian Convention on Reciprocal Emigration," 30 August 1922.

55. IAIE, 1920, 53.2. EPS to IE, 12 December 1920.

December 1919, shortly after the Neuilly Treaty was signed, Prime Minister Venizelos warned the Greeks still in Bulgaria "not to expect anything" from the Greek state and advised the population, "if they value their nationality, to come and settle in our territory."[56] According to Bulgarian diplomats, Venizelos's colonization policies had several aims: to adjust the ethnic composition in parts of Macedonia inhabited by significant Bulgarian populations; to create a buffer zone around the Greek-Bulgarian border populated by refugees from the Caucuses who would not be susceptible to Bulgarian propaganda and could counter Bulgarian guerilla bands; and to supply the country with the labor force necessary for postwar reconstruction.[57]

The Greek Embassy in Sofia advertised the wide application of the Convention. Systematic preparations were necessary, because the Stamboliĭski government tolerated the Greeks in its territory in order to secure the preservation of the Bulgarian minority in Greece on a reciprocal basis, and the Greek population saw no immediate reason to abandon its localities. Despite the Greek intention to induce emigration, as of November 1920 barely three hundred Greeks had submitted declarations for emigration to the embassy. Diplomats cautiously tried to "help the illiterate and not very well developed" potential immigrants while ensuring that the submission of declarations looked "like an initiative originating from the emigrants and not [a decision] enforced by external propaganda."[58] While aiding in the emigration of the population, diplomats feared that the presence of Greek officers and agents in the Greek regions of Bulgaria could lead to analogous demands for Bulgarian representatives in the Bulgarian areas of Greece.[59]

In addition to the question of emigration, the embassy in Sofia and the consulates in Varna, Plovdiv/Philippoupolis, and Burgas/Pirgos supervised other issues involving the Greeks in Bulgaria. Bulgarian authorities had sued or fined Greek citizens according to the new Law Against the Contributors to the Bulgarian National Catastrophe, which targeted individuals who had benefited financially from the wars. The land reform instituted by the ruling Bulgarian Agrarian National Union of Stamboliĭski had affected others, because authorities expropriated all estates larger than three hundred hectares. Greeks also reported that Bulgarian officials had not compensated their properties fairly after seizing them for the needs of the state during the war. A big concern was the Labor Service Law that the government instituted in lieu of the military service prohibited by the Neuilly Treaty, because its provisions applied to the Greeks that were Bulgarian citizens.[60]

56. TsDA, f. 322k, op. 1, a.e. 383, ll. 1–94. BLA to MVRI, 15 May 1920.
57. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 4, a.e. 1670, ll. 70–82. BLA to MVRI, 3 May 1921.
58. IAIE, 1920, 53.2. EPS to IE, 21 November 1920.
59. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 4, a.e. 197, ll. 17–23. Sofia Police Inspectorate to MVRI, 16 December 1920.
60. Other complaints included unfair taxation, discrimination against Greek merchants, and the settlement of Bulgarian refugees in Greek homes. IAIE, 1921, 11.5. Military Attaché to IE, 3 December 1921; EPS to IE, 16 February 1921.

Cases of direct confrontation between Bulgarians and Greeks were "isolated episodes," but Greek diplomats hoped that the economic constraints and the obligatory labor service would accelerate emigration.[61]

Greek officials in the "new lands" in Macedonia and Thrace were especially interested in convincing the Greeks in Bulgaria to emigrate. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs investigated the availability of land to settle the Bulgarian Greeks in the Salonica area of Macedonia.[62] Officials in Thrace insisted that "our enlarged Greece needs the Greeks from Bulgaria to serve in the army and settle permanently" in the area; the objective was to "boost the Greek population" following the Bulgarian occupation of Thrace after the Balkan Wars.[63] Emigration from Bulgaria would "multiply the Greek population, especially in areas where foreigners [*allogeneis*] [we]re compact"; the colonizers would serve as "a nucleus for the Hellenization [*pirinas exellinismou*] of every Bulgarian village" and spread the Greek language among their neighbors.[64]

In early 1920 representatives from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Economy, the Ministry of Agriculture, and the Ministry of Welfare created a special commission to discuss ways for strengthening the Greek element in the "new lands."[65] Later in the year the Refugee Repatriation Commission in Edirne, which facilitated the repatriation of Greeks from Eastern Thrace, started supervising the emigration of the Bulgarian Greeks.[66] The population that resettled to Thrace in 1920 was composed mainly of farmers from the Ortakeuy area, and the availability of land was vital for their smooth transition.[67] The authorities recommended that every group of potential settlers send representatives to examine the climate and geological conditions in each locality and choose terrains appropriate for the traditional agricultural activity of the colony.[68] Officials also outlined land amelioration projects that would facilitate emigration. In Macedonia the drainage of swamps around Phillipoi could provide employment for landless workers from Bulgaria. In the Drama area, where the Greek population was a "small minority," the reclamation of 160,000 hectares from swamps comprised an "enterprise of superior national importance."[69] Officials estimated that some fourteen hundred paupers from Bulgaria, wage workers in farms, cities, and ports, could participate in the amelioration projects, receiving land in exchange for their labor.[70]

61. IAIE, 1922, 106.4.2. Memo of Gr. rep., 9/22 June 1921; and IAIE, 1921, 11.3. EPS to IE, 1/14 November 1920; ESA to IE, 15 June 1920.
62. IAIE, 1920, 5.5.1. IE to GDTh, 17 February 1920.
63. IAIE, 1920, 5.5.1. Military Unit for National Defense to IE, 2 June 1920.
64. IAIE, 1920, 5.5.2. Government representative of Western Thrace to IE, 29 April 1920.
65. IAIE, 1920, 53.2. Memo of IE, 27 February 1920.
66. TsDA, f. 322k, op. 1, a.e. 380, ll. 1–18. BLA to MVRI, 6 October 1920.
67. IAIE, 1920, 53.2. Ministry of Agriculture to IE, 24 December 1920; Response of IE, 4 January 1921.
68. IAIE, 1920, 5.5.2. Government representative of Western Thrace to IE, 29 April 1920.
69. IAIE, 1920, 5.5.2. IE to Ministry of Communications, 24 April 1920.
70. IAIE, 1920, 5.5.2. Andoniadis to Exindaris, 7 February 1920.

Some refugees from 1906 took advantage of the official encouragement to settle in the "new lands." Already in Greece for many years but unsatisfied with the quality of their land in Thessaly, they hoped that these new opportunities would help solve their decade-old economic problems. The inhabitants of Nea Anchialos, plagued by disease and idle land ever since the establishment of their community in 1907, sought a better life in "new" Greece.[71] In June 1923, after acquiring land around Salonica and enrolling co-villagers dispersed around Greece or still in Anhialo/Anchialos in Bulgaria, leaders inaugurated a new vine-growing colony that they named Anchialos Makedonias.[72] In November 1919 the Stenimachos Brotherhood located in Volos also expressed the desire of its members to create a community in Thrace, preferably near Giumiurdzhina or Xanthi, because of "the commonality of climate, habits, and traditions" with their own. Some six hundred families from Stanimaka/Stenimachos were scattered around Greece, and an equal number in Bulgaria were allegedly willing to emigrate and join the new community.[73] For these individuals already in Greece, the government's interest in colonizing Macedonia and Thrace coincided with their own search for better living conditions. Many moved to areas that reminded them of their old communities in Bulgaria and hoped for a better life in the "new lands" of Greece.

The Greek Elites Split

While pursuing the emigration of all Greeks from Bulgaria, the Venizelos government encouraged the resettlement of the prosperous and educated members of the Greek communities. Mazarakis often invoked the "devout patriotic feelings" of these elites and praised their work for the "preservation of our nationality."[74] Officials considered their role indispensable, because they gave confidence to ordinary people and had professional skills that guaranteed the success of emigration.[75]

To assist the work of the government and defend their own interests, Greek leaders who had fled Bulgaria during the wars established the Thracian Club in Athens. Its members purportedly expressed the opinion of all Greeks from Bulgaria but, in actuality, represented the elites that had already decided in favor of emigration. When the Thracian Club convened to discuss the advantages and disadvantages of emigration in early 1919, despite their differences its members decided to support Venizelos's idea of

71. Emmanouilidis, *Oi anthellinikoi diogmoi,* 53.

72. Mavrommatis, *I Anchialos mes'apo tis phloges,* 85–86.

73. IAMB, Archive 256, file 1, A, doc. 26. Brotherhood "I Stenimahos," 2 November 1919.

74. IAIE, 1919, A/5/II, 4. ESA census instructions, 4 February 1919.

75. Greek professionals and civil servants still in Bulgaria could staff the bureaucracy in the "new lands" where their knowledge of the Bulgarian language would be helpful given the Bulgarian-speaking populations in the areas. See TsDA, f. 322k, op. 1, a.e. 380, ll. 1–18. BLA to MVRI, 6 October 1920.

emigration, and composed a memorandum to the Paris Peace Conference demanding the return of Greek communal property confiscated since 1906.[76] In early 1920 another organization in Athens, the Common Committee of Unredeemed Greeks, contacted the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to communicate "the enormous damage [resulting from the Greeks'] departure from Bulgaria." Its members presented concrete measures that would aid emigration: they demanded Greek currency, and not Bulgarian money, for their land and real estate abandoned in Bulgaria, requested guarantees for fertile land, long-term settlement loans, and compensation for lost pensions and bank accounts, and proposed a systematic policy regarding the abandoned communal properties.[77] Though these leaders supported the government's plan for mass resettlement in principle, they were dissatisfied with its economic side and engaged in an intense bargaining process with Greek officials.

This early push for unity among the elites disappeared following Venizelos's defeat in the November 1920 elections, which brought victory to the royalist Dimitrios Gounaris. The followers of Venizelos continued to defend the idea of emigration, maintaining that "[the Neuilly Convention] is not the result of a phantasmagoric endeavor of . . . [Venizelos] to change the ethnic character of the Greek provinces, but it is the aspiration of the very Greeks in Bulgaria who, realizing the danger of losing their nationality because of the conditions they currently face in Bulgaria, desire their painless emigration to Greece." According to this view, the Convention's goal was "to secure certain provisions for the Greeks so that they can resettle without violence and material losses."[78] In the new political context of the royalists' victory, however, many members of the Thracian Club ended their support for Venizelos and approached the Bulgarian Embassy in Athens to discuss other available options. These skeptics of population exchange argued that the emigration of entire villages was unfeasible. They contended that disappointment awaited the settlers when they arrived in Greece, because "when one abandons his warm bed and the blissful [and] fertile Bulgarian land . . . he would naturally demand a warmer bed and more fertile land than the one he has deserted because of the personal invitation of the idealist prime minister of Greece, Elevtherios Venizelos." Many were discouraged by the experience of the Caucasus refugees who had emigrated lured by

76. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 4, a.e. 1670, ll. 70–82. BLA to MVRI, 3 May 1921; and *Zora,* 21 May 1921, found in IAIE, 1921, 14.1.1. Some members of the Thracian Club claimed that the destruction of Greek communal life in Bulgaria made pointless the continued Greek presence in the country, and others emphasized the economic harm of emigration.

77. IAIE, 1920, 5.5.1. The Common Committee of Unredeemed Greeks, 20 January 1920. The Greek name of the organization was *Koini ton Alitroton Epitropeia.*

78. Opinion of Alexandros Pallis, the Greek scholar of population movements, published in *Patris* and quoted in TsDA, f. 176k, op. 4, a.e. 1670, ll. 104–109. BLA to MVRI, 8 June 1921. The supporters of Venizelos included Mavridis, Nikoglou, and Andoniadis from Plovdiv/Philippoupolis and Doxiadis from Stanimaka/Stenimachos.

government promises only to encounter appalling settlement conditions and devastating mortality in Greece.[79]

This lack of consensus continued in late-1921, and, two years after the Convention, the resettlement of the Bulgarian Greeks remained in limbo. Many claimed that they would not relocate if they had schools and churches, because they were pleased with everything else in Bulgaria. Others opined that they would consider emigration only "if everybody else left" because their compact towns and villages in Bulgaria gave them the sense of security and community they needed.[80] The fall of Venizelos and the emerging split among the elites disillusioned still others who had initially supported emigration. Bulgarian diplomats reported, in 1921, that Greeks already in Greece "curse[d] the Military Mission of Mazarakis that . . . lured them to Greece, promising golden towers and total bliss in the Greek promised land while many wander[ed] . . . as outcasts in various Greek towns."[81] No doubt, disillusioned emigrants communicated these attitudes to their acquaintances in Bulgaria, and the mixed signals coming from Greece served as a deterrent to filing declarations for emigration.

Given this pessimism and inaction of the population on the issue of emigration, Greek diplomats in Bulgaria started working on a new scenario, which assumed that the Greeks would not emigrate. Excluding the inhabitants of the agricultural areas around Kavakli who were bound to resettle, more than half of the minority, or twenty to thirty thousand Greeks, could remain in Bulgaria. According to diplomats, the presence of this population could work to the "advantage" of Greek national interests, as the remaining Greeks "would be a national nucleus, useful for the future development of trade relations between the two countries." More important, "under the guardianship of Great Greece," the compact communities would curb "any damage that may occur through marital strategies [practiced] in certain areas."[82] Because of the population's refusal to relocate, Greek politicians designed programs that would prevent the assimilation of the Greeks into Bulgarian society and boost Greek interests in the region.

The Willing Emigrants from "New" Bulgaria

The Greek government found the staunchest supporters of the Convention for Emigration in the Greeks from the Bulgarian "new lands," these fringes of Thrace and Macedonia that the country had acquired in 1913 (see map 2). Because of the military operations and refugee movements

79. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 4, a.e. 1670, ll. 70–82. BLA to MVRI, 3 May 1921. The opponents of emigration included Papadopoulos and Vogazlis from Plovdiv/Philippoupolis, Sideris from Stanimaka/Stenimachos, and Dionisiadis from Burgas/Pirgos.

80. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 4, a.e. 197, ll. 17–23, 75–76. Sofia Police Inspectorate to MVRI, 16 December 1920; Declarations of ten Greeks from Anhialo/Anchialos, July 1920.

81. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 4, a.e. 1670, ll. 70–82. BLA to MVRI, 3 May 1921.

82. IAIE, 1921, 12.6. Memo of Gr. rep., 29 June 1921.

in their localities, many inhabitants of the two areas had fled to Greece during the wars.[83] These Greeks did not consider a return to their localities possible and relied on the property provisions of the Convention for Emigration to provide the economic resources necessary for their integration into Greece. Former residents of Ahtopol/Agathoupolis on the Black Sea engaged in intense correspondence with the Mixed Commission; they feared that, because of the fire that had destroyed their city in 1918, they would not receive the full value of their abandoned estates.[84] The government saw these Greeks as pioneers, "the first emigrants . . . whose successful settlement would motivate the emigration of others." Following the personal intervention of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, in 1920 authorities distributed lumber for new homes and 50,000 hectares of land in Thrace to five hundred families.[85] By April 1922 the Mixed Commission received some 1,454 declarations for emigration, and the Greek representative expected another 430 shortly.[86]

The Ortakeuy (today Ivaĭlovgrad) area in Western Thrace also underwent mass Greek emigration because of the arrival of Bulgarian refugees in 1913 who "altered the ethnic character of the region."[87] Upon arrival in Greece, the government provided the emigrants with land to establish a community called Neo Ortakeuy in Thrace and settled some four hundred families in formerly Bulgarian homes in Salonica.[88] The work of the Mixed Commission frustrated the population, because the experts planned to liquidate the abandoned properties at their current price rather than their prewar value, and the Bulgarian refugees hindered the property appraisals.[89] Nevertheless, by April 1922, the Commission received 1,618 declarations for emigration from refugees from these areas.[90]

The inhabitants of Melnik/Meleniko in Macedonia, who had fled the area with the Greek Army in 1913, moved to Neo Meleniko close to the Bulgarian-Greek border or settled in Salonica.[91] Many faced problems with the compensation of their properties because their homes, stores, and land had been destroyed during the wars and Bulgarian officials recognized only

83. For the areas in Macedonia and Thrace ceded to Bulgaria after the Second Balkan War, see chapter 3, 93, 100–104.

84. IAIE, 1920, 5.5.1. Petition to IE, 4 December 1919.

85. IAIE, 1920, 53.2. IE to GDTh, 4 December 1920.

86. IAIE, 1922, 106.1. Minutes of the MC, 24 January to 18 May 1922, 689; Union "Unredeemed Agathoupolis," 10 June 1921.

87. IAIE, 1922, 106.2. Association "Unredeemed Ortakeuy," 21 February 1922; and TsDA, f. 176k, op. 3, a.e. 130, l. 15. Memo of MVRI, 23 July 1924.

88. IAIE, 1922, 107.3.1. Association "Unredeemed Ortakeuy," 15 July 1921; IAMB, Archive 256, 1b, doc. 41. Letter to Doxiadis, 28 November 1919; IAIE, 1923, 21.4.1. Association "Unredeemed Ortakeuy," 23 July 1923; and TsDA, f. 322k, op. 1, a.e. 380, ll. 1–18. BLA to MVRI, 6 October 1920.

89. IAIE, 1922, 106.2. Association "Unredeemed Ortakeuy," Union "Unredeemed Agathoupolis," and representatives of Vasiliko, 12 March 1922.

90. IAIE, 1922, 106.1. Minutes of the MC, 24 January to 18 May 1922, 689.

91. IAIE, 1922, 107.3.1. Table of refugees from Melnik/Meleniko, 24 April 1921.

a quarter of their prewar value.[92] The inhabitants of Petrich/Petritsi and Nevrokop/Nevrokopi (today Gotse Delchev) fared better, because all the homes were intact and their owners hoped to receive the full value of their abandoned properties.[93] The declarations for emigration of this population reached a total of 784 by April 1922.[94]

These willing colonists were not emigrants but refugees who, unable to return to their birthplace, had no choice but to remain in Greece and use the financial provisions of the Convention to facilitate their adjustment to Greek society. They believed that, owing to the wars, "[their] regions had changed completely," because Bulgarian officials and refugees, "pursuing the demographic transformation of [these] areas, systematically destroyed everything."[95] Their arrival in Greece benefited the Greek administration, since they tended to settle in the northern provinces where authorities sought to maintain the "Hellenization of the entire area from the Bulgarian border to the Aegean."[96] The refugees from "new" Bulgaria, familiar with Thrace and Macedonia and accustomed to the climate and soil, were the best population to sustain the homogenization policies of official Greece.

The Hesitant Minority in "Old" Bulgaria

In contrast, the Greeks in Bulgaria remained hesitant. In early 1920 the Greek Military Mission distributed copies of the Convention for Emigration and ordered the establishment of commissions in each city, town, and village to coordinate emigration through propaganda, financial assistance, the dispatch of delegations to Greece, and representation in the Mixed Commission.[97] Some communities initiated contacts with acquaintances across the border or sent representatives to Greece to investigate the conditions of resettlement.[98] Yet the Mixed Commission observed that the inhabitants of large cities were reluctant to abandon their localities.[99] Bulgarian counterpropaganda and the easing of the wartime restrictions influenced many uncertain individuals to remain in Bulgaria.[100] Because the Greeks in the Black Sea area were prosperous vine growers, fishermen, and salt producers, Greek diplomats were aware that "it would be very difficult to convince them to emigrate immediately, with the exception of a few paupers or those chased by the Bulgarian authorities." In Burgas/Pirgos most Greeks

92. IAIE, 1920, 5.5.1. Representatives of Melnik/Meleniko, 15 November 1919; and TsDA, f. 322k, op. 1, a.e. 383, ll. 1–94. BLA to MVRI, 15 May 1920.

93. IAIE, 1922, 107.3.3. Liatis to IE, 26 March 1922.

94. IAIE, 1922, 106.1. Minutes of the MC, 24 January to 18 May 1922, 689.

95. IAIE, 1923, 21.4.1. Association "Unredeemed Ortakeuy," 23 July 1923.

96. IAIE, 1923, 21.4.1. GDTh to IE, 21 July 1923.

97. IAIE, 1919, A/5/II, 4. MC member Sarakakis to IE, 8 February 1920.

98. M. Maravelakis and A. Vakalopoulos, *Oi prosphigikes engatastaseis stin periochi Thessalonikis* (Thessaloniki, 1993), 225–226, 242.

99. IAIE, 1922, 106.1. Minutes of the MC, 24 January to 18 May 1922, 689; *Zora*, 10 August 1923, found in IAIE, 1923, 24.1.

100. IAIE, 1922, 106.4.1. Telegram of EPP, 25 November/7 December 1921.

emphasized that it would be "impossible" to depart and forfeit their "great profits," despite the financial provisions of the Convention.[101] In Anhialo/Anchialos only forty families supported resettlement, but they agreed to emigrate "only after the inspection and approval of the land" they would be allocated in Greece.[102] In Varna the "black spot" was wartime inflation that had devalued the assets of the Greeks who would suffer enormous damages in the case of emigration.[103] Only the four thousand Greek inhabitants of Biala/Aspros south of Varna appeared to be eager candidates for emigration, yet even they were reluctant to leave before their leaders chose a permanent settlement site and the Mixed Commission secured the transfer of their animals and furniture to Greece.[104]

The region where the population most seriously considered emigration was the remote area of Kavakli near the Greek border where Bulgarian officers regularly terrorized the Greeks.[105] Bulgarian refugees arriving from Greece had forced the population from its homes, collected the harvest of the unfortunate landowners, extorted the Greeks into selling their properties cheaply, and created a tense atmosphere with offenses and threats that included the "blacklisting" of local Greeks.[106] Because of the general insecurity in a border area full of brigands, smugglers, and crooks, some seven thousand inhabitants of Kavakli wanted to sell their properties and establish a new city in Thrace.[107] Yet, by April 1922, only seven individuals had filed declarations with the Mixed Commission. The few who emigrated without submitting declarations had special reasons for doing so, such as the forty families from Malâk Boialâk/Mikro Boialiki who possessed worthless land or the women from Kavakli whose husbands had defected from the Bulgarian Army.[108] Most feared to act because the Mixed Commission proceeded slowly, and they could gradually feel tensions subside in their towns. These Greeks had witnessed firsthand the miserable state of the Bulgarian refugees arriving from Greece, and this experience shaped their unwillingness to emigrate as they "feared . . . the destiny of the Bulgarian refugees" would befall them upon their own arrival in Greece.[109]

101. IAIE, 1919, A/5/II, 4. MC member Sarakakis to IE, 8 February 1920.

102. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 4, a.e. 197, ll. 17–23, 75–76. Sofia Police Inspectorate to MVRI, 16 December 1920; petitions of ten Greeks from Anhialo/Anchialos, 5 July 1920.

103. IAIE, 1920, 5.5.1. Representatives of Varna, 18 January 1920.

104. IAIE, 1923, 30.6.1. Gr. rep. to GDTh and GDM, 18 March 1923.

105. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 4, a.e. 197, ll. 71–74, 77–82. Bulgarian translations of Greek and British documents from August and September 1920.

106. IAIE, 1921, 11.3. ESA to IE, 15 June 1920.

107. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 4, a.e. 197, ll. 71–82, 17–23. Translation of the enquiry of the British officer Baker, 20 August 1920; Sofia Police Inspectorate to MVRI, 16 December 1920; and IAIE, 1920, 53.2. EPS to IE, 10/23 October 1920.

108. IAIE, 1922, 107, 3.2. GDTh to IE, 2 and 8 July 1922; TsDA, f. 176k, op. 4, a.e. 197, ll. 17–23. Sofia Police Inspectorate to MVRI, 16 December 1920; and IAIE, 1922, 106.1. Minutes of the MC, 24 January to 18 May 1922, 689.

109. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 4, a.e. 197, ll. 17–23. Sofia Police Inspectorate to MVRI, 16 December 1920.

Various reasons explained this reluctance to emigrate. The inadequate policies of the Greek government two decades earlier, when many had resettled following the 1906 anti-Greek movement, was a decisive factor for those who "had fled to Greece and experienced the horror" of failed relocation in the past.[110] The Greeks feared that, as in 1906, they would encounter "unhappy settlements," and they required "systematic preparation endeavors" to secure productive land for all potential emigrants.[111] Further, the war with the Ottoman Empire, which had begun in 1921, made the prospect of military service in Greece unattractive. The slow work of the Mixed Commission and its inability to guarantee fair compensation for their properties also disappointed the Greeks who did not wish to relocate before officials secured their properties.[112]

The issue of communal properties caused another controversy. While leaders who had already emigrated wanted the communal properties liquidated, a view the Greek government supported, the population remaining in Bulgaria strove to retain control over these considerable assets.[113] Most leaders already in Greece insisted on liquidating the common property through the Mixed Commission so that they could provide services for the new communities in Greece. However, others realized that, "whatever the scale of emigration, there would always be Greeks in Bulgaria, especially in the Black Sea areas . . . and it is not fair to deprive this population of churches and schools."[114] Thus the successive Greek governments could not present to the Mixed Commission a unified position that would satisfy all Bulgarian Greeks.

Among the most vocal opponents of the Convention were the Greek residents of Bulgaria who held Greek citizenship. Because they did not qualify to file declarations for emigration or to liquidate their properties through the Mixed Commission, they sought changes in the Convention that would allow them to benefit from its provisions. These were mainly large property owners who stressed that Greek citizens should be preferred to the Greeks who held Bulgarian citizenship because their "Greek citizenship ma[de] their stay in Bulgaria totally impossible." These economic tycoons promised to encourage the population through their personal example and assured Greek politicians that their knowledge and resources would be useful after relocation.[115] In the end, because the Convention only applied to Greeks who held Bulgarian citizenship, many Greek citizens remained in Bulgaria during the interwar period to safeguard their economic interests.

110. Ibid.

111. IAIE, 1920, 5.5.1. The Common Committee of Unredeemed Greeks, 20 January 1920.

112. IAIE, 1922, 106.4.1. Gr. rep. to IE, 29 October 1921.

113. DA-Plovdiv, 29k, op. 1, a.e. 182, l. 20. Petition of Greeks in Plovdiv/Philippoupolis, December 1927.

114. IAIE, 1920, 5.5.1. The Common Committee of Unredeemed Greeks, 20 January 1920. At odds with the official Greek position, the Patriarchate requested the reconstitution of Greek communities in Bulgaria and the return of their schools and churches. IAIE, 1922, 106.4.2. Table of Greek communal properties from 20 May 1920.

115. IAIE, 1920, 53.2. Greeks from Varna, 5/18 November 1920.

The "strong ties that reign[ed] between Greeks and Bulgarians" also blocked the Greek government's plans.[116] Some Bulgarians warned their neighbors that they would be drafted into the Greek Army to fight in Asia Minor and encouraged them to remain in their villages despite the Greeks' desire to resettle. The situation was far from idyllic, as local power figures transgressed their authority and created hindrances when the Greeks attempted to sell their properties or acquire the certificates required by the Convention. But local Bulgarians were wary to accept refugees from Greece in lieu of the local Greeks, because the former had the reputation of being "troublesome elements."[117] Even in the volatile Kavakli area, "Greeks and Bulgarians . . . live[d] as good friends."[118]

Greek officials noted that the Bulgarian government did not want "to strip the country of the peaceful and diligent [Greek] element."[119] True, extremist organizations existed, incidents occurred, and some Bulgarians showed hostility toward the Greeks.[120] Trying to prevent the mistreatment of the minority, the Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs explained to local officials that the Neuilly Treaty obliged Bulgaria to secure the equal civil and political rights of all its citizens and to allow the free usage of foreign languages in commerce, the press, and religious services.[121] The central authorities ordered the local administration to curb excesses against the Greeks because they hoped to secure minority rights for the Bulgarians in Greece on reciprocal grounds. When Greece allowed the partial repatriation of Bulgarian refugees from its "new lands," the Bulgarian government responded by enforcing additional safeguards protecting the Greeks in its territory.[122] High officials believed that the Greeks "enjoy absolute freedom and equality"; even so, they gave "the necessary instructions . . . to the administration to be extremely careful and upright in its actions toward the foreign elements, strictly taking into account the existing laws and never forgetting that . . . unwary activities implicate the responsibilities of the government."[123] With the easing of discrimination against the Greek population, its emigration decreased significantly, a trend that worried the Greek representative in the Mixed Commission.[124] By May 1923 Greek diplomats

116. IAIE, 1922, 106.1. Minutes of the MC, 24 January to 18 May 1922, 689.

117. IAIE, 1922, 106.4.1. EPS to IE, 18 December 1921/1 January 1922; Telegrams from EPP and EPS, 29 November/11 December and 25 November/7 December 1921.

118. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 4, a.e. 197, ll. 78–79. Translation of the enquiry of the British officer Baker, 20 August 1920.

119. IAIE, 1922, 107.3.2. GDTh to IE, 9 June 1922.

120. IAIE, 1921, 11.3. ESA to IE, 15 June 1920; and IAIE 1922, 94.4. EPS to IE, 1/14 September 1922.

121. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 4, a.e. 197, ll. 47, 192. MVRI to MV, 29 September 1920; MVRI to MVRNZ, 20 March 1920.

122. IAIE, 1922, 107.3.2. Gr. rep. to IE, 2/15 June 1921; and IAIE, 1921, 12.6. Memo of Gr. rep., 12 August 1921.

123. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 4, a.e. 197, ll. 17–23. Sofia Police Inspectorate to MVRI, 16 December 1920, p. 23; and IAIE, 1922, 106.4.1. Circular of the Kazâlagach chief, 20 April 1921.

124. IAIE, 1921, 12.6. Memo of Gr. rep., 29 June 1921.

confirmed the "absolute serenity" and "absolute freedom of movement" of the remaining Greeks in Bulgaria.[125]

Well into 1923 the Greek representatives faced the unwillingness of the Greeks to file declarations with the Mixed Commission and entertained the possibility of sending agents among them as the deadline for submitting declarations was approaching.[126] The combination of excellent economic resources, mixed signals from leaders in Greece, the disappointment of 1906, good relations with their neighbors, and the cessation of Bulgarian discriminatory policies motivated many to remain in Bulgaria or to postpone their decision until they had more precise information about the economic aspects of emigration. By April 1922 only 141 Greeks from the "old territories" of Bulgaria had expressed in writing their desire to resettle, whereas their anticipated number had been more than 26,000.[127] By June 1923 barely 197 Greek families from the "old lands" had filed declarations for emigration.[128] The Greeks remained unconvinced of the benefits associated with relocation and seemed satisfied with their lives as a minority in Bulgaria.

The Minorities in Turmoil after 1923

The dynamics of emigration changed drastically in 1923 as a result of the complicated circumstances in Greece following its unsuccessful war with the Ottoman Empire between 1921 and 1922. The Sèvres Treaty of 10 August 1920 had ceded to Greece large portions of the Asia Minor coast. Claiming more territories in the interior, the government of Dimitrios Gounaris, in July 1921, launched an attack on the nationalist regime of Mustafa Kemal, and the Greek Army advanced into Anatolia. With the Greek defeat and the Turkish counteroffensive, Kemal pushed the Greek Army back to the Aegean coast, and numerous Greek Orthodox refugees, fearing reprisals, left their birthplace. After the devastating fire in the city of Izmir/Smyrna in September 1922, it became clear that the refugees would not be able to return to their localities and many fled to Greece. With the signing of the armistice in October, the Greek government began settling the new arrivals in its "new lands" in Macedonia and Thrace. These remained diversely populated territories with significant Muslim and Bulgarian minorities, and the authorities had no choice other than to settle the displaced persons in the homes of minority individuals. The negotiations between the Greeks and the Turks led to the Lausanne Convention for the Exchange of Populations between Turkey and Greece, drawn up on 30 January 1923, which sanctioned the obligatory population exchange of the Greek Orthodox citizens of the

125. IAIE, 1923, 21.4.1 Gr. rep. to IE, 30 May 1923; EPS to IE, 6 June 1923.

126. IAIE, 1923, 31.3. Gr. rep. to IE, 23 March and 15 October 1923.

127. By contrast, 3,856 Greeks from "new" Bulgaria had submitted declarations. See IAIE, 1922, 106.1. Minutes of the MC, 24 January to 18 May 1922, 689.

128. The Bulgarian declarations numbered only 166, according to Macartney, *National States and National Minorities,* 440.

Ottoman Empire and the Muslim residents of Greece. Under the provisions of the Lausanne Treaty of 24 July 1923, the evacuation of the remaining Orthodox population from the Ottoman Empire continued through the end of 1924. A significant number of these refugees, whose number reached 1.2 million according to the 1928 Greek census, settled in northern Greece.[129]

The Lausanne Treaty of 1923 permanently ceded to Greece Western Thrace, the territory Bulgaria had ruled between 1913 and 1918. With the arrival of the refugees from Turkey in the summer of 1923, Greek officials interned entire Bulgarian villages from Western Thrace to continental Greece and the Aegean islands. The situation resulted in a wave of emigration from Greek Thrace to Bulgaria by refugees opting for Bulgarian citizenship under the Convention for Emigration.[130] Complicating matters further for the Bulgarians in Greece, as the influx of refugees from Turkey surged—amounting to hundreds of thousands—Greek authorities declared a state of emergency in the country and terminated the repatriation of Bulgarian refugees, which had partially been carried out during the previous year under the supervision of the Mixed Commission.[131] Bulgarian representatives responded by emphasizing the voluntary character of the Convention between Bulgaria and Greece, unlike the compulsory exchange with the Ottoman Empire, and demanded the repatriation of all Bulgarian refugees. Following this humanitarian disaster, the Mixed Commission, over Bulgarian objections on 26 October 1923, extended the 1919 Convention for Emigration to include the Bulgarians in Western Thrace.[132]

To the Greek authorities, the inclusion of Western Thrace in the Convention was seen as an invitation to expel members of the Bulgarian minority from Western Thrace and Aegean (Eastern) Macedonia. Some 11,962 Bulgarian refugees fled Greece in 1923.[133] The Mixed Commission recognized the plight of the population, temporarily suspended the acceptance of declarations for emigration, and intervened to ensure that the Greek refugee settlement did not burden the Bulgarians in Western Thrace more heavily than the rest of the population. The Commission was, in fact, compelled to supervise the often violent and clearly involuntary resettlement of these new Bulgarian refugees. Accordingly, the focus of its work shifted from appraising the properties of the prospective Greek emigrants in Bulgaria to facilitating the emigration of the Bulgarian minority from Greece.[134]

129. The only exceptions were the Greek Orthodox community in Istanbul and the Muslims of Western Thrace. Selected works on the Greek-Turkish population exchange include Pentzopoulos, *The Balkan Exchange of Minorities;* Hirschon, *Crossing the Aegean;* and Yildirim, *Diplomacy and Displacement*.

130. IAIE, 1922, 16.1. EPS to IE, 6 September 1921; and IAIE, 1923, 12.1. GDTh to IE, 24 September 1923.

131. IAIE, 1923, 12.1. Ministry of War to EPS, 23 June 1923.

132. IAIE, 1923, 31.2. Greek translation of a MC memo titled "The Implementation of the Convention for Emigration in Macedonia and Thrace," 5 December 1923.

133. K. Hitelov, ed., *Selskostopanskoto nastaniavane na bezhantsite* (Sofia, 1932), 58–59.

134. Mixed Commission on Greco-Bulgarian Emigration, *Memorandum*, 14.

The experience of the Bulgarians in Greece complicated the situation of the Greeks in Bulgaria. The circumstances were explosive in the vicinity of Kavakli, which had absorbed the first refugees from Western Thrace in the summer of 1923. The Greeks who had already submitted declarations for emigration were the most vulnerable group, and many left their homes in panic when the refugees started settling in Greek homes and confiscating the properties of candidate-emigrants.[135] The Greek ambassador warned that "a new anti-Greek movement" might develop in these border regions.[136] To restore the population's confidence, the president of the Mixed Commission, Colonel Corfe, coordinated a ten-day inquiry throughout Bulgaria, which made him feel "quite optimistic" that local officials were trying to contain the chaotic situation. For his purposes, the Greek representative Tsorbatzis distinguished between the "authentic" (*gnisioi*) Bulgarians, on the one hand, and the "professional Bulgarians" (*ex epangelmatos Voulgaroi*), on the other, so named for exploiting the situation of the new Bulgarian refugees from Western Thrace. He acknowledged the "relative toleration of the authentic population of modern Bulgaria" and concluded that there was "no hatred among the real [*alithinoi*] Bulgarians against the Greeks."[137] Following the inquiry the Greeks of Bulgaria felt "a bit of relief," and some claimed that if the Bulgarian government restored their schools and churches, "there would be no reason to emigrate."[138]

On the urging of the Bulgarians, the Mixed Commission outlined rules concerning the settlement of refugees in Bulgarian localities in Greece, with the same rules to apply to Greek localities in Bulgaria.[139] In September 1923 the Bulgarian representative Robev explained that the mistreatment of the Greeks was "retaliation for the expulsion of Bulgarians from Western Thrace."[140] The Greek representative Tsorbatzis also felt that his government should investigate the "refugee anomaly" in the Bulgarian-populated areas of Greece and curb the excesses of the Greek refugees against the Bulgarians.[141] In early 1924, following the first measures taken by the Bulgarian government, the Mixed Commission concluded that the Greeks

135. IAIE, 1923, 21.4.1. Telegram from Mikro Boialiki to MC, 25 May 1923; and Gr. rep. to IE, 30 May 1923. The situation was so disturbing that local Bulgarians united with the Greeks to form an armed resistance to the refugee incursions. IAIE, 1923, 21.4.1. MC member Xanthos to IE, 7 June 1923.

136. IAIE, 1923, 21.4.1. EPS to IE, 8 July 1923.

137. IAIE, 1923, 21.4.1. Gr. rep. to IE, 19 September 1923.

138. IAIE, 1923, 21.4.1. MC member Xanthos to IE, 20 September 1923. Even the Greeks committed to emigration were cautious, and instead of availing themselves of the Mixed Commission, they personally supervised the sale of their land and homes. In late 1923 many awaited the anticipated departure of the Muslims in Greece according to the Lausanne Treaty, which would free land for their settlement in Greece. See IAIE, 1923, 31.2. Greek translation of a MC memo titled "The Implementation of the Convention for Emigration in Macedonia and Thrace," 5 December 1923.

139. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 12, a.e. 17, ll. 63–64. MC memo regarding the installation of refugees on Greek properties, 31 August 1923.

140. IAIE, 1923, 21.4.1. MC member Xanthos to IE, 20 September 1923.

141. IAIE, 1923, 21.4.1. Gr. rep. to IE, 19 September 1923.

enjoyed "sufficient protection and freedom." Tsorbatzis also assured his superiors that the Bulgarian people were "by nature peaceful and not the least moved by patriotic proclamations."[142]

The various Macedonian and Thracian organizations, which represented many Bulgarian refugees from Greece, exerted pressure on officials to implement harsher measures against the Greeks in Bulgaria and to annul the Convention for Emigration which, in their minds, had caused the Bulgarian exodus from Greece. However, throughout 1924, despite the "systematic anti-Greek polemics in all Bulgarian newspapers," the government of Alexander Tsankov continued to urge authorities to tolerate the Greeks and prevent their emigration.[143] Officials settled the newly arriving Bulgarian refugees from Greece in the homes of Bulgarians and Greeks on an equal basis. They returned Greek properties that had been confiscated for the needs of the refugees and temporarily quartered the Bulgarian expellees in schools, church buildings, monasteries, unoccupied state buildings, or barracks. Public opinion in Bulgaria demanded reprisals, yet in the summer of 1924 the Tsankov government objected that repressive policies toward the Greeks in Bulgaria would cause further pressures on the Bulgarians in Greece and complicate diplomatic endeavors to resolve the minority question. The Ministry of the Interior asked the local administration to treat Greeks and Bulgarians equally, examine in detail all complaints of the Greeks, and prevent any attempts to harm the population.[144]

While the Bulgarian side was implementing these measures, the Greek administration continued to settle the Orthodox refugees from Turkey in Bulgarian homes. Several bloody incidents occurred involving members of the Bulgarian minority in Greece; the most notorious was the episode at Tarlis (today Vathitopos) near Drama on 27 July 1924, where militias comprised of Asia Minor refugees killed seventeen Bulgarians, triggering the resettlement of the entire village. During 1924 some 27,577 Bulgarians fled Greece. To neutralize the international uproar over this incident, Greece declared its willingness to sign a special document, under the supervision of the League of Nations, guaranteeing the rights of both minorities. On 29 September 1924 the governments of Tsankov and Sophoulis signed the Geneva Protocol for the Protection of Minorities, also known as the Kalfov-Politis Protocol after the two foreign ministers involved. The Protocol consisted of two identical documents guaranteeing the educational and religious rights of both the Greeks in Bulgaria and the Bulgarians in Greece.[145]

142. IAIE, 1924, A/5/XII, 11. Gr. rep. to IE, 30 January 1924.

143. IAIE, 1923, 21.4.1 Gr. rep. to IE, 30 May 1923.

144. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 12, a.e. 33, ll. 10–11. Circular of MVRNZ, 19 May 1924; TsDA, f. 176k, op. 12, a.e. 17, l. 2. Circular of MVRNZ, 2 July 1924; TsDA, f. 176k, op. 12, a.e. 35, l. 185. MVRNZ to the Burgas/Pirgos chief, 16 July 1924; TsDA, f. 176k, op. 4, a.e. 2370, l. 185. Memo of MVRI, 12 November 1924.

145. For the Bulgarian refugees, see Hitelov, *Selskostopanskoto nastaniavane*, 58–59. For a Greek interpretation of the Geneva Protocol, see Areti Tounta-Phergadi, *Ellino-voulgarikes meionotites. Protokollo Politi-Kalfof, 1924–1925. Meleti vasismeni se erevna ton archeion tou Ellinikou*

According to the Geneva Protocol, the Bulgarian government, "desirous of ensuring the equitable treatment to persons belonging to the Greek minority," agreed to implement policies that "would bring comparative happiness to very many families who now live in anxiety, if not terror." The Protocol proposed several protection mechanisms for minorities: the two governments would undertake "enquiry on the spot into the needs of the minority, especially in matters of education and public worship," submit regular reports to the League of Nations as to the progress made in this sphere, and permit the Mixed Commission to receive "individual and collective petitions from persons who consider [that] their rights have been infringed." The two neutral members of the Mixed Commission would decide on the type of recourse available to the petitioners, either judicial or administrative. The Bulgarian representative would act as a state supervisor for minority affairs and would settle the matter in question immediately or recommend appropriate policies to the Bulgarian government.[146]

The two sides, with the mediation of the League of Nations, began discussing the implementation of the Protocol.[147] In November 1924 the Mixed Commission advised the Tsankov government to allow the reopening and public funding of Patriarchist churches for the use of the Greek minority. The Commission also planned to reopen public primary schools where Greek children, with the exception of compulsory Bulgarian-language classes, would be educated in the Greek language.[148] In 1925 only one Greek primary school with thirty-five pupils and one Patriarchist church existed in Bulgaria, both operating on the premises of the Greek Embassy in Sofia.[149] Because the Bulgarian government wanted to secure similar religious and educational opportunities for the Bulgarian minority in Greece, it cooperated with the Mixed Commission, which believed that officials would not create any "political or moral difficulties" for the reconstitution of the Greek minority communities in Bulgaria.[150]

Ipourgeiou ton Exoterikon (Thessaloniki, 1986); Iakovos Michailidis, *Metakiniseis Slavophonon plithismon (1912–1930). O polemos ton statistikon* (Athens, 2003). For the Bulgarian side, see Georgi V. Dimitrov, *Maltsinstveno-bezhanskiiat vâpros v bâlgaro-grâtskite otnosheniia 1919–1939* (Blagoevgrad, 1982); Georgi Daskalov, *Bâlgarite v Egeĭska Makedoniia. Mit i Realnost* (Sofia, 1996). A study that considers both sides is Spiridon Ploumidis, *I Ellinovoulgariki krisi tou 1924–25. O polemos tis zooklopis* (Athens, 2006).

146. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 4, a.e. 2370, ll. 132–142. Minutes of the Thirtieth Session of the Council of the League of Nations, 29 September 1924. The same provisions applied to the Bulgarian minority in Greece.

147. For proposals related to the Bulgarian minority, see Iakovos Michailidis "Minority Rights and Educational Problems in Greek Interwar Macedonia: The Case of the Primer 'Abecedar,'" *JMGS* 14 (1996): 329–343.

148. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 12, a.e. 187, ll. 199–203. Memo of MVRI concerning the application of the Geneva Protocol, 17 November 1924.

149. Georges Kerekoff, *Les Minorités Étrangères Ethniques et Religieuses en Bulgarie* (Sofia, 1925), 8–10.

150. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 12, a.e. 187, ll. 215–224. The MC to the Bulgarian Foreign Minister Kalfov, 11 February 1925.

The Mixed Commission faced various complications when deciding on specific measures related to the Protocol. Because of religious canon, the reopening of minority churches in the two countries appeared to be an especially complex matter. As a result of the schism, Bulgarian ecclesiastical authorities would not recognize the operation in Bulgaria of Patriarchist institutions that treated the Bulgarian Church as schismatic. Instead, the Commission proposed that both governments adopt the principle that minority religious establishments should be placed under the ecclesiastical authority of their home country. The Mixed Commission proposed that Greek priests in Bulgaria become Bulgarian citizens and study in seminaries operated by the Bulgarian Holy Synod. The Greek population would form independent religious communities, choose priests in its church councils, and submit the candidates' list to Bulgarian authorities for approval. Once the Bulgarian bishop in the area confirmed the elected Greek priests, they could preach in Greek but they would use books printed in Bulgaria.[151]

Regarding education, the Mixed Commission urged Bulgarian authorities to incorporate Greek-language instruction immediately, beginning with the 1925–26 school year. Based on the number of minority children in the specific community, students could attend public Greek "minority schools," Greek-language "minority classes" in Bulgarian public schools, or special "minority courses" in Greek language and religion. Meanwhile the Ministry of Education would arrange courses for Greek-language instructors in Bulgarian pedagogical institutions. Greek private schools would be allowed only if all teachers possessed an appropriate certification, resided in Bulgaria permanently, and did not work against state interest.[152]

While these talks were in progress, the intention of Greece to implement the provisions of the Protocol to the Bulgarian minority in its territory was becoming questionable. At first the Sophoulis government had signed the Protocol and essentially recognized the existence of a Bulgarian minority in Greece, but in late 1924 the new administration of Andreas Michalakopoulos tried to undermine the link between its Bulgarian-speaking residents and official Bulgaria. The compilation of a minority primer, the *Abecedar*, using the Latin alphabet and a Western dialect, caused an uproar in Bulgaria. The Bulgarian representatives insisted on using the standardized literary Bulgarian for the population, but Greek officials tried to codify a

151. Ibid. The Mixed Commission proposed complex rules in the allocation of churches. In areas with a mixed population and more than one church, the buildings would be divided between Bulgarians and Greeks according to their ratio; in areas with only one church and a predominantly Greek population, church services would be in Greek; and, finally, in areas with only one church and a mixed population, church services would alternate between Bulgarian and Greek.

152. Ibid. The Mixed Commission suggested that Greek schools be opened in Plovdiv/Philippoupolis, Stanimaka/Stenimachos, Varna, Biala/Aspros, Burgas/Pirgos, Anhialo/Anchialos, Sozopol/Sozoupolis, Mesemvria, and Ortakeuy. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 12, a.e. 35, ll. 127–128. MC memo, 20 February 1925.

new language for the minority that would distinguish it from Bulgaria.[153] Throughout 1925 the wave of Bulgarian refugees from Greek Thrace and Macedonia continued, despite Greek attempts to downplay the existence of a Bulgarian "ethnic" minority and promote the alternative notion of a "Slavic-speaking linguistic minority." The administration adopted the stance that the minority clauses of the Neuilly Treaty would be sufficient to safeguard the Greeks in Bulgaria without creating new rights for the remaining Bulgarians in Greece, who would continue to be protected by the Sèvres Minorities Treaty. After the Greek Parliament refused to endorse the Geneva Protocol on 2 February and the Council of the League of Nations released Greece from its obligations on 14 March, some 21,123 Bulgarians fled Greece by the end of the year.[154]

As a result of the Greek reluctance to commit to minority rights regarding the Bulgarians in Greece, the Sofia government reacted by similarly revising its policy toward the Greeks in its territory. In late 1924 officials entertained the idea of repressions against the Greeks in response to the forced migration that the Greek government had enacted against the Bulgarians.[155] Politicians were concerned that, although Bulgarian authorities allowed the Greek emigrants to transport their movable property and liquidate their real estates freely, the Bulgarian refugees arrived from Greece "in a miserable state, deprived of everything [*goli i bosi*]."[156] In January 1925 the Bulgarian representative Robev insisted that the government revise its policy for refugee settlement, as "we have the right to treat the properties [of the potential Greek emigrants] the same way that Greece treats the Bulgarian [properties in Greece]."[157] Gradually, in 1925, the Tsankov administration adopted reciprocal repressive measures against the Greeks. The new instructions that the Ministry of the Interior circulated to the local administration in February and March allowed the settlement of Bulgarian refugees in the homes and land of Greek candidate-emigrants who had filed declarations with the Mixed Commission. The revised rules guaranteed the rights of the Greeks who had chosen to remain in Bulgaria or had withdrawn their declarations. But the government reminded local bureaucrats to enforce the deadline outlined by the Convention, which mandated that individuals had to leave the country within three months after liquidating their property.

153. Michailidis, "Minority Rights."

154. Hitelov, *Selskostopanskoto nastaniavane,* 58–59; Tounta-Phergadi, *Ellino-voulgarikes meionotites;* Ploumidis, *I Ellinovoulgariki krisi;* Dimitrov, *Maltsinstveno-bezhanskiiat vâpros;* Daskalov, *Bâlgarite v Egeïska Makedoniia;* Michailidis, *Metakiniseis Slavophonon plithismon;* Tasos Kostopoulos, *I apagorevmenni glossa. Kratiki katastoli ton slavikon dialekton stin elliniki Makedonia* (Athens, 2000).

155. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 4, a.e. 2370, ll. 162, 233. BLA to MVRI, 5 and 28 November 1924. Bulgarian diplomats proposed enforcing "the norm of the equal number of exchanged populations."

156. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 12, a.e. 35, ll. 165–166. MVRNZ to MVRI, 7 March 1925.

157. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 4, a.e. 2885, ll. 141–144. Bulg. rep. to MVRI, 24 January 1925.

After this grace period expired, officials could deport the emigrants still in Bulgaria.[158]

The Greek minority situation became increasingly insecure in the second half of 1924. After the Geneva Protocol of September 1924, many Greeks and especially those in the cities had decided to remain in Bulgaria, primarily because of the "awful conditions" created by the influx of refugees from Turkey to Greece.[159] Yet the arrival of the new Bulgarian refugees from Greece and the revised settlement policies in Bulgaria forced many to file declarations for emigration with the Mixed Commission.[160] The main wave of Greek emigration started in the summer of 1924 and continued until the fall of 1925. If throughout 1923 there were only 1,000 Greek declarations from "old" Bulgaria, by the end of 1924 the Mixed Commission received a total of 8,313 new declarations.[161]

The "Old" Greeks Emigrate

According to the Greek ambassador Delmouzos, in the summer of 1924 alarm prevailed among the Greeks in Bulgaria. However, he quickly qualified that, "the complaints . . . in reality are not as many as to entirely, and generally, warrant the fear that currently dominates our population and its desire to depart hastily for Greece." After the Lausanne Treaty, Greek diplomats were probably instructed to prevent the immediate emigration of the Greeks, as their presence would complicate the accommodation of the new refugees from the Ottoman Empire. But the emigration of the Greeks was already underway, and the diplomat estimated as many as thirty to thirty-five thousand possible emigrants, or half of all the Greeks. Most came from the rural areas around Plovdiv/Philippoupolis and Burgas/Pirgos, fewer from the vicinity of Varna, and even fewer from the cities. The ambassador surmised that the number of Greeks remaining in Bulgaria would be "sparse" and that the Bulgarian government would further limit minority rights.[162]

The settlement of Bulgarian refugees from Macedonia and Thrace in Greek localities in Bulgaria was the most important factor in the minority's decision to emigrate. Greek pressures had forced the new Bulgarian refugees to leave their place of birth, often without the opportunity to sell their properties, and the newcomers were outraged over the prosperity of the

158. TsDA, f. 176k, op.5, a.e. 184, ll. 292–293. "Order for the expropriation of the lands of the persons of Greek origin, filed a declaration for emigration," 24 February 1925; and TsDA, f. 176k, op. 12, a.e. 35, ll. 165–166. MVRNZ to MVRI, 7 March 1925.

159. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 4, a.e. 2370, ll. 162. BLA to MVRI, 5 November 1924; and TsDA, f. 176k, op. 5, a.e. 184, l. 77. The Stanimaka/Stenimachos Sub-commission to the Bulg. rep., 10 October 1924.

160. IAIE, 1924, A/5XII, 5. Gr. rep. to IE, 29 June 1924.

161. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 5, a.e. 184, ll. 114–118. List of candidate-emigrants from 29 January 1925.

162. IAIE, 1924, A/5XII, 5. EPS to IE, 15 August 1924.

Greeks. An anonymous letter received by Greek inhabitants of Stanimaka/Stenimachos in August 1925 revealed the Bulgarians' anger:

> You treacherous Greeks, you keep making heavy, unbearable, rust-eaten chains for Macedonia; we warn you, [you people] in whose veins flows dirty, criminal Greek blood: Come to your senses! Stop pestering our brothers the Bulgarians in Macedonia. Stop massacring and forcing them out of their place of birth. Stop abusing the sacred places of our beloved but unlucky motherland . . . see the thousands of refugees [arriving in Bulgaria]; the fist of the great Bulgarian tribe [*pleme*] becomes stronger, and the time approaches when we will hammer the enemies of the fatherland. . . . Listen to our voice of protest—otherwise we will force you to do so by other means.[163]

The refugees saw themselves as "good Bulgarians" who had been forced out of Greece precisely because they were Bulgarians, and they countered all assertions concerning the persecution of Greeks in Bulgaria with indignant comparisons to their own treatment in Greece. They resented the Greeks, because "[their] mansions in the best parts of town are at the free disposal of their owners [yet the Greek] heart remains untouched by the view of the naked and homeless Bulgarian refugees."[164] This clash between the radicalized "new" Bulgarians and the victimized "old" Greeks led to the massive Greek emigration.

In 1924 and 1925 the situation of the Greek minority was becoming extremely insecure; according to a Greek diplomat, many Greeks were "hated, abused, offended, dishonored, beaten, and killed."[165] In August 1924 an angry crowd, chanting insults against the Greek nation, threw stones at the Greek Consulate in Plovdiv/Philippoupolis.[166] Refugees did not allow the Greeks to speak their own language, challenged their property rights, forced them to pay random dues, and expropriated their harvest. In the second half of 1924, after the Bulgarian authorities allowed refugees to settle in Greek areas, incidents between refugees and members of the minority accelerated.[167]

The atmosphere was extremely tense in Kuklen/Kouklaina and Voden/Vodena, where militant refugees literally besieged the two villages. The former inhabitants of the village of Dervent in Western Thrace, where Greeks had killed several Bulgarians, were cruel to their Greek hosts. A list of seventeen Greeks sentenced to death circulated in Voden/Vodena, compelling many to seek refuge with relatives elsewhere. Terror culminated

163. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 5, a.e. 256, l. 90.
164. IAIE, 1924, A/5XII, 8. Greek translation of the Burgas/Pirgos newspaper *Morska zaria*, 15 February 1924.
165. IAIE, 1924, A/5XII, 5. EPPh to IE, 14 November 1924.
166. IAIE, 1924, A/5XII, 5. EPPh to IE, 4 August 1924.
167. IAIE, 1924, A/5XII, 5. EPPh to IE, 14 November 1924.

in July 1924, when bombs were planted in Greek homes and the Greek mayor of Voden/Vodena, who had organized a militia to restore order in the village, was assassinated. In the summer of 1924 individuals began submitting declarations for emigration, hoping to resettle before the winter. Forty families of Greek citizens, unable to file declarations, relocated and abandoned their properties.[168] Bulgarian officials warned the refugees that they would remove them from the villages and the Mixed Commission conducted its own inquiry into the incidents, but any reassurance came too late for the Greeks.[169] Some ninety families from Kuklen/Kouklaina and three hundred from Voden/Vodena departed for Salonica by train in September and November of 1924.[170]

In Stanimaka/Stenimachos Bulgarian authorities had convened a meeting in November 1924 to publicize the Geneva Protocol and explain the rights of the minority, and many Greeks withdrew their declarations under the conditions outlined in the document.[171] But the assassination of four Greeks later that month caused mounting turmoil among the population.[172] The government deployed a military unit to pacify the city, but numerous Greeks continued to receive threatening letters. Then, in July 1925, another prominent Greek was assassinated.[173] The Bulgarian authorities, in an effort to restore order, removed all refugees settled in the homes of Greeks who did not intend to emigrate and placed guards in some Greek houses.[174] Following the escalating violence, two thousand Greeks left the city by train in August 1925.[175]

In Burgas/Pirgos newly sprung anti-Greek organizations sought to fire all foreign citizens from the port authorities and replace all Greek fishermen with Bulgarians.[176] Refugee associations extorted the Greeks into donating money for the Bulgarian newcomers. In the summer of 1924 unknown perpetrators scratched black crosses on Greek houses, delivered hostile

168. IAIE, 1924, A/5XII, 5. EPS to IE, 28, 29, and 30 July, and 10 August 1924; and TsDA, f. 176k, op. 4, a.e. 2885, l. 33. MVRI to MVRNZ, 9 August 1924. More information about Kuklen/Kuklaina is found ibid., ll. 204, 206–208. For Voden/Vodena, see ibid., ll. 264–267, 274, 233–235, 257.

169. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 4, a.e. 2885, l. 37a. MVRNZ to the Plovdiv District Chief; and TsDA, f. 322k, op. 1, a.e. 430, ll. 23–29. MC enquiry in the Voden/Vodena incident, 8 June 1924.

170. Maravelakis and Vakalopoulos, *Oi prosphigikes enkatastaseis,* 60, 346.

171. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 5, a.e 184, l. 77. The Stanimaka/Stenimachos Emigration Subcommission to MVRI, 10 October 1924.

172. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 4, a.e. 2370, l. 187. BLA to MVRI, 12 November 1924; and TsDA, f. 176k, op. 4, a.e. 2885, ll. 90, 91, 94. Correspondence from November 1924.

173. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 4, a.e. 2885, l. 116. MVRI to MVRNZ, 23 December 1924; TsDA, f. 176k, op. 5, a.e 256, ll. 13a, 15, 90. Correspondence from April 1925, and anonymous note from August 1925; and TsDA, f. 176k, op. 5, a.e. 40, ll. 7, 9. BLA to MVRI, 29 and 31 July 1925.

174. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 5, a.e. 256, l. 22. MVRI to MVRNZ, 8 March 1925; TsDA, f. 176k, op. 4, a.e. 2885, l. 194. MVRI to MVRNZ, 3 April 1925; and TsDA, f. 176k, op. 5, a.e 256, l. 11. Declaration of a Greek citizen from Stanimaka/Stenimachos, 11 June 1925.

175. IAIE, 1925, A/24.2. MC member Gogos to IE, 11 September 1925; and Maravelakis and Vakalopoulos, *Oi prosphigikes enkatastaseis,* 352.

176. IAIE, 1924, A/5XII, 8. EPS to IE, 7 March 1924; IAIE, 1924, A/5XII, 5. EPP to IE, 29 November 1924; and TsDA, f. 176k op. 5, a.e. 256, l. 28. MVRNZ to MVRI, 13 July 1925.

letters to prominent Greeks, initiated a stone-throwing attack against the Greek Consulate, and planted bombs in the homes of Greek leaders and merchants.[177] Many Greeks who hoped to remain in Bulgaria survived these difficult times by "liv[ing] unnoticed" and "maintain[ing] obscurity." In November the Greek Consul concluded that, even if the government allowed the reconstitution of Greek communities, "distinct national life is impossible in the midst of this anti-Greek atmosphere."[178]

The population of the nearby towns was even more vulnerable. In Anhialo/Anchialos the justice of the peace expressed his anti-Greek views openly, and officials regularly terrorized the Greeks.[179] In the summer of 1924 refugees in Sozopol/Sozoupolis made it difficult for the Greeks to cultivate their vine estates, supply their homes with water, or speak Greek in public.[180] In Mesemvria the newcomers limited the Greeks to one room in their own homes, pushed them into stables, summer kitchens, or laundry rooms, and took over their furniture or harvest.[181] In the villages of Bania, Dautli (today Kableshkovo), and Tsimos (today Aheloĭ), Macedonian leaders forcefully settled refugees in Greek homes, threatened to confiscate Greek land, and imposed deadlines for the population's resettlement.[182] In early 1925, despite all the Bulgarian authorities' promises, no Greek community existed in the entire Burgas/Pirgos area.[183] After collecting their crops some 900 Greeks left Mesemvria and Anhialo/Anchialos by boat in August, followed a month later by 750 inhabitants of Sozopol/Sozoupolis.[184]

The situation was similar elsewhere. In Kavakli more Greeks abandoned their communities as refugees raided their homes. In the villages near Harmanli, most Greeks had decided to stay in Bulgaria past the deadline of the Convention. But after a Macedonian leader became involved, refugees started harassing the population and boycotting their stores. The 160 Greek families in Efrem/Ephraim wrote to the Mixed Commission that they would emigrate even if the Commission did not accept their declarations. Some 270 Greeks from Kavakli and about 1,100

177. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 4, a.e. 2885, ll. 23, 50, 216, 223. Correspondence from July, August, and September 1924; and IAIE, 1924, A/5XII, 5. EPS to IE, 16 August 1924.

178. IAIE, 1924, A/5XII, 5. EPP to IE, 29 November 1924.

179. IAIE, 1925, G/65aa. "Comprehensive list of the crimes, persecutions, and wrongdoings committed by Bulgarians against the Greek element in Bulgaria during 1924 and 1925."

180. IAIE, 1924, A/5XII, 5. EPS to IE, 20 August 1924; and TsDA, f. 176k, op. 5, a.e. 256, ll. 66, 67. Correspondence from August 1925.

181. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 4. a.e 2885, l. 219. MVRI to MVRNZ, 8 August 1924; and Margaritis Konstantinidis, *I Mesemvria par' Evxinou* (Athens, 1956), 59–60.

182. Rumors also circulated that military authorities would mandate the removal of the entire Greek population on the Black Sea to the interior of the country. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 4, a.e. 2885, ll. 122, 149, 157, 158. Correspondence from December 1924, and February and March 1925; and TsDA, f. 176k, op. 5, a.e. 184, ll. 300–301. Undated list of incidents with Greeks in Bulgaria.

183. IAIE, 1925, B/49.1. EPP to IE, 16 February 1925; and TsDA, f. 176k, op. 5, a.e. 256, l. 13. BLA to MVRI, 7 April 1925.

184. IAIE, 1925, A/24.2. MC member Gogos to IE, 11 September 1925.

Figure 6. *The Greek inhabitants of Mesemvria gathering on the shore in preparation to leave for Greece in 1925. Margaritis Konstantinidis,* I Mesemvria tou Evxinou. Istoria, *ed. Georgios Megas (Athens, 1945), 60.*

from Efrem/Ephraim departed in August 1925 by train.[185] In the Varna area some 1,300 inhabitants of Biala/Aspros and Koziak/Kozakos left by boat in September and October of 1925.[186]

In March 1925, with the exception of the Greek chapel and school in Sofia, Greek communal life in Bulgaria had disappeared: there were "no newspapers, no communities, no associations, no churches, [and] no schools."[187] Compact Greek populations remained in Varna, Burgas/Pirgos, and Plovdiv/Philippoupolis. But, in 1925, the Greek government was taking urgent measures for the expeditious departure of small-town populations. The Greeks on the Black Sea hired boats to transport them to Greece, and the inhabitants of Kavakli and Stanimaka/Stenimachos traveled by train. Most emigrants departed between August and October 1925. While most obtained "quite respectable amounts" from their harvest and were able to cover their own expenses, the Greek Consulate in Burgas/Pirgos provided small allowances and rented boats for the transfer of several villages that needed assistance. In September 1925 a Greek member of the Mixed

185. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 12, a.e. 33, l. 237. Telegram from Kavakli, 11 March 1925; and TsDA, f. 176k, op. 5, a.e. 184, ll. 300–301. Undated list of incidents with Greeks in Bulgaria.

186. Maravelakis and Vakalopoulos, *Oi prosphigikes enkatastaseis,* 13, 20–21, claim that "very few inhabitants of Varna emigrated because the locality has many possibilities for development."

187. IAIE, 1925, B/49.1. EPS to IE, 13 March 1925.

Commission estimated that an additional eight thousand Greeks were bound to leave Bulgarian territory within a month.[188]

In 1924 and 1925 the Greek minority in Bulgaria hastily abandoned its birthplace for good. After the arrival of more than thirty thousand refugees in Bulgaria in the second part of 1924 some twenty-five thousand Greeks submitted declarations for emigration, and ten thousand of them liquidated their properties before departing from Bulgaria.[189] By May 1929 the number of Greeks who had availed themselves of the Convention approached forty-six thousand. By late 1931 the number of Greek emigrants, both old and new, reached 52,891.[190] In the end the Bulgarian Greeks found themselves at an impasse: whereas in the early 1920s they had successfully negotiated their demands with Greek officials, the new conditions in their birthplace in the mid-1920s no longer allowed their survival as a minority and they relocated in a hasty and chaotic way.

The Failure of Minority Protection

When the exchange of minorities between Bulgaria and Greece was first proposed, the League of Nations maintained that the Convention did not sanction a population exchange but facilitated the voluntary emigration of minorities based on their "national sympathies."[191] After the signing of the Convention, the Mixed Commission declared that, "for the first time between two countries in the Balkan peninsula—where there have been many large movements of emigration—a settlement was carried out based on the respect of individual rights." Because of their work, the international members of the Commission claimed, the minority populations that experienced relocation have become "emigrants on the way to become peaceful citizens, instead of refugees addicted to [unrest]."[192] Yet complications emerged in the implementation of the Convention because, despite the move toward individual rights in international law and practice, "most modern states . . . undisguisedly prefer to have their frontiers inhabited by members of their own majority nations, for which purpose many of them have resorted to every sort of device to render the lives of their frontier minorities intolerable, or at

188. IAIE, 1925, A/24.2. MC member Gogos to IE, 11 September 1925.

189. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 21, a.e. 2335, ll. 9–28. "Observations of the Mixed Commission Regarding the Situation of Emigrants in Greece and Bulgaria," 2 March 1925.

190. Out of the forty-six thousand emigrants in Greece in 1929, some sixteen thousand had arrived in 1906 and during the wars, and thirty thousand arrived after the signing of the Neuilly Convention. On the other hand, the number of Bulgarians who filed declarations for emigration reached 101,800 in 1931, according to Mixed Commission records. Ultimately the Convention was applied to 900 localities: 251 in Bulgaria, 501 in Greek Macedonia, and 259 in Western Thrace. See Mixed Commission on Greco-Bulgarian Emigration, *Memorandum,* 5, 37; and Commission Mixte, *Rapport,* 61.

191. Mixed Commission on Greco-Bulgarian Emigration, *Memorandum,* 2–3.

192. Ibid., 3, 10–11.

least to weaken their power and solidarity by colonizing 'reliable' elements among them."[193]

This description provides the main explanation as to why a voluntary emigration of minorities based on individual rights was not possible in the Bulgarian-Greek (or any other) case. While the two countries publicly expressed a commitment to minority rights, the winner, Greece, which faced the formidable task of homogenizing its frontiers, silently circumvented the minority clauses and worked at the local level to render its Bulgarian minority harmless. The Greek administration frequently pressured Bulgarian individuals, especially those close to the Bulgarian border, to resettle, or simply acknowledged their already materialized relocation without allowing the repatriation of the wartime refugees. Ultimately the Greek call for a comprehensive implementation of the Convention for Emigration prevailed, and the problematic Bulgarian population in the border regions emigrated. Caught between the opposing views of the Greek and Bulgarian governments, the Greeks in Bulgaria hesitated to resettle for five years, but they were forced to choose emigration after the Bulgarian refugees arrived en masse from Greece. The Convention for Voluntary and Reciprocal Emigration of Minorities proved to be more reciprocal than voluntary and, although the Convention was not supposed to be a population exchange, it functioned as an "actual exchange" that did not guarantee the free will of minority individuals.[194] Displacement occurred as a chain reaction affecting minorities and refugees in both Bulgaria and Greece, and the vicious cycle of violence forced people to make decisions under conditions beyond their control.[195]

The circumstances surrounding the Greeks' emigration from Bulgaria were illustrative of the failure of minority protection mechanisms, proposed by the League of Nations, even when the host country supported preservation of the minority (for its own strategic reasons). The Great War had exacerbated tensions between Bulgarians and Greeks, now defined as bounded ethnic groups, but even military conflict had not obliterated all social niches that allowed the minorities to survive. Typically the pressures from Bulgarian refugees newly arriving from Greece, and not conflicts with their long-standing Bulgarian neighbors, changed the initial intention of the Bulgarian Greeks to remain a minority and accelerated their decision to emigrate. In effect, the resettlement of the Greeks in Bulgaria was the outcome of the Greek government's pressures on the Bulgarians in its own "new lands" following the Asia Minor disaster and its unwillingness to support the minority protection mechanism sponsored by the League of Nations, which created an extremely volatile situation for minorities in both coun-

193. Macartney, *National States and National Minorities,* 431.

194. Hilda Clark, "Greece and Bulgaria: The Exchange of Populations," *The Friend,* 1 July 1927.

195. IAIE, 1923, 31.2. Memo of Marcel de Roover, 8 September 1923.

tries. Harsh administrative measures were first practiced in Greece after the Greek-Turkish War, and then in Bulgaria following the realization that the exodus of the Bulgarians from Greece was inevitable. The initial Bulgarian tolerance toward the Greeks in Bulgaria is explained by attempts to reciprocally negotiate minority rights for the Bulgarians in Greece. The priority of the Greek government, however, was to secure the homogenization of Macedonia and Thrace, not to promote minority rights in the two countries. Concerning Greek national interests, emigration obliterated the need for minority protection; so, Greek politicians refused to commit to minority protection that would allow Greeks to remain in Bulgaria while also recognizing a Bulgarian minority in Greece. After Greece revoked the Geneva Protocol, it became impossible for the Greeks to remain in Bulgaria, because Bulgarians now associated them with the country that had refused to recognize minority rights for the Bulgarians in its own territory. The Greeks in Bulgaria became victims of the policies of official Greece, which, in the interpretation of the Bulgarian Greeks themselves, sacrificed the minority for the greater national cause.[196]

A question remains regarding the role of the Council of the League of Nations and its Minorities Section in this minority controversy. When the Geneva Protocol for the Protection of Minorities was signed in September 1924, League officials recognized that "it is extremely difficult for an ordinary government, dependent on the votes of the people, to take up boldly and conscientiously the protection of the unpopular [minority] in order to fulfill the treaty obligations . . . and its high duty toward the ideals of civilized mankind."[197] The Mixed Commission embarked on several inquiries into violent incidents but failed to enforce concrete measures to improve the minorities' situation; in its own analysis, the mutual distrust between the two parties had made implementation of minority protection impossible.[198] Subsequently, when the Greek government decided to rescind minority rights in its territories over Bulgarian objections, the Minorities Section released Greece from its obligations. Minority clauses were for the losers, not the winners, and the international experts considered the Neuilly and Sèvres Treaties to be sufficient even though the Convention for Emigration had essentially abrogated their minority provisions. Despite its commitment to promoting humanitarian principles and safeguarding the minority populations, the League of Nations faced limitations because of the European powers' unwavering commitment to the status quo of 1919 and their tendency to support the winners, such as Greece, at the expense of the losers, such

196. Papadopoulos, "Ta dikaia," 76.

197. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 4, a.e. 2370, ll. 132–142. Minutes of the Thirtieth Session of the Council of the League of Nations, 29 September 1924.

198. IAIE 1923, 31.2. Memo of de Roover, 8 September 1923; and TsDA, f. 176k, op. 21, a.e. 2335, ll. 9–28. "Observations of the Mixed Commission Regarding the Situation of Emigrants in Greece and Bulgaria," 2 March 1925.

as Bulgaria.[199] Owing to unresolved problems, relations between the two countries worsened in 1925, culminating in a border incident on 19 October and a Greek invasion of Bulgarian territory in the Petrich/Petritsi area of Macedonia. In the fall of 1925, as a result of the escalating tensions from the previous years, the two countries were on the brink of war. The League of Nations managed to negotiate a peaceful settlement, but only when faced with a shooting war did the dictator Theodoros Pangalos respond to international pressure and agree to withdraw from Bulgarian territory.[200] As far as the minorities were concerned, the remaining Bulgarians in Greece and the Greeks in Bulgaria each faced various challenges of nationalization in the interwar years.

199. See Fink, *Defending the Rights of Others;* and Pedersen, "Back to the League of Nations." For a comparative examination of Greek minority policies, see Lena Divani, ed., *Ellada kai meionotites. To sistima diethnous prostasias tis Koinonias ton Ethnon* (Athens, 1995). For similar dynamics between Hungary and Romania, see Brubaker, *Nationalist Politics and Everyday Ethnicity*. For the German-Polish case, see Christian Raitz von Frentz, *A Lesson Forgotten: Minority Protection under the League of Nations—The Case of the German Minority in Poland, 1920–1934* (New York, 1999).

200. James Barros, *The League of Nations and the Great Powers: The Greek-Bulgarian Incident, 1925* (Oxford, 1970).

5

Everyday Life after Emigration, 1925–1931

In the late 1920s, shortly after the mass emigration of Greeks from Bulgaria, the attorney Dimitris Vogazlis, now a resident of Greece, visited his native Plovdiv/Philippoupolis and, together with his wife, wished to pay tribute to the Mother of God Church (Panagia) in nearby Voden/Vodena. The village had seen some of the worst violence in the summer of 1924, with repeated clashes between local Greeks and Bulgarian refugees that had compelled the Greeks to emigrate en masse. When Vogazlis and his wife arrived for service on a Sunday morning, the formerly Greek church was almost completely empty. Honoring the visitors, the elderly Bulgarian minister bestowed the protection of the Mother of God onto the couple and blessed them in "decent" Greek. He was pleased to have an audience, and, when invited to join the family in the coffeehouse, the pastor confided with grief: "You Greeks are so devout! . . . The church was always full on Sundays [when Greeks inhabited the village] . . . When the Greeks left Voden, the government gave their homes to [Bulgarian] refugees from Thrace. You might not believe it, but this is the sad truth. Even on Good Friday, when we take the cross around the church, . . . [the refugees] do not do the cross or rise on their feet. Young people mock me disparagingly, with cigarettes in their mouth. You Greeks are a different matter!" Later in the conversation, fixing his eyes on the horizon and talking as if in a dream, the priest deliberated on recent events: "We are both small nations. Our misfortune is that we are located at the crossroad of Europe and Asia. . . . So the Great [powers] would not leave us alone. . . . We, in Bulgaria, without religion, with our extremism that lacks patriotism, with freely distributed materialism, we will be absorbed, either by Russia or Germany. But you Greeks will be saved whatever challenges you face. One

would say that the words of Christ, 'Faith will save thou,' . . . refer to your nation. [You are the] lucky ones!"[1]

This episode was remarkable for several reasons. The kindly encounter between a Bulgarian priest and a Greek communal leader, representatives of, supposedly, the most uncompromising national stock, refutes, first of all, a black-and-white depiction of the interaction between the two ethnic groups in the interwar period. In fact, cordial relations between Bulgarians and Greeks continued even in the aftermath of violence and displacement. The conversation also reveals the importance of local dynamics, social expectations, and communal practices in the interactions between people, a trend that facilitated the continued close connections between Bulgarians and Greeks at the expense of the Bulgarian refugees who had replaced the Greeks. The disruption of established practices and everyday routines after the Greeks' emigration made local Bulgarians skeptical of their new Bulgarian co-residents, as they had to learn anew how to live with people, albeit of the same ethnicity, but who had a different notion of communal life and social hierarchy. Finally, people wished to rationalize and overcome the zeal of nationalist ideology that pitted the two nations against each other. Instead of defending the righteousness of their nation, they were critical of the direction their country was taking. In search of normalization after a period of nationalist confrontation, people found solace in everyday customs, expectations, and practices that promised deliverance from the previous turbulence.

The refugee crisis in the Balkans in the mid-1920s made the Bulgarian and Greek measures targeting their minorities and refugees uneven; as a result, officials constantly had to readjust their policies and practices in the late 1920s. This trend, combined with the political instability, economic volatility, and social turmoil rampant in the interwar period, determined the situation of ordinary people in the years immediately after emigration. By tracing the experiences of the Greeks who remained in Bulgaria and their relatives who resettled in Greece, this chapter asks how two marginalized social groups, a small minority and an impoverished immigrant population, dealt with the crises of the postwar years in their everyday lives. Revealing how individuals adjusted in a hostile "native land" or commenced new lives in an estranged "national homeland," the story of the Bulgarian Greeks highlights the blurry link between national identity and place of residence after resettlement. The international and domestic proponents of population exchange had championed emigration as the best way to handle the minority question straining relations between Bulgaria and Greece. However, neither the Greeks who relocated to Greece nor those who stayed in Bulgaria found closure after emigration. By highlighting the complex interaction between nationality, place of birth, and national homeland, I question the

1. K. D. Vogazlis, "Voulgaroi kai Ellines. Singritiki laographiki kai istoriki meleti," *ATLGT* 17 (1952): 128 n. 1.

extent to which national identity mattered in the context of nationalization and displacement. This chapter explores alternative ideas of citizenship and community in the interwar years by emphasizing the importance of social status and local allegiances in ordinary people's choice of residence as well as in their everyday encounters with authorities.

Scholars have explained the interwar migrations in many eastern European countries by analyzing the tense relationship between minorities, nationalizing states, and external national homelands, but this triad omits the perspective of the populations subjected to relocation. It is imperative to scrutinize the aftermath of emigration and explore, first, how the new citizens perceived their "national homeland" once they emigrated, and, second, why the remaining minorities decided to face the "nationalizing nationalism" in their native lands instead of emigrating.[2] The hardships of the refugee experience and the challenges of socioeconomic integration after resettlement played an important role in the way people perceived the nation-state and its agents.[3] A refugee-centered "anthropology of suffering" illustrates the tensions between state-centered and refugee-centered perceptions of national inclusion.[4] Even as the state bureaucracy prioritized national factors facilitating its domestic and foreign agendas, ordinary people were more concerned with their own secure socioeconomic adjustment and, though aware of their own *ethnicity* based on cultural factors, they did not prioritize their *nationality* articulated in political terms.[5]

In this context, social status appeared more important than nationality in individuals' sense of national incorporation and social inclusion. Bulgarian officials treated the Greeks as lesser national citizens that had to be removed from public life, but the minority thrived economically and played an important role in its communities, which allowed it to maintain its privileged social status. The immigrants in Greece, by contrast, enjoyed full citizenship and political rights but suffered shortages and deprivations after emigration, which undercut their sense of being full-fledged members of the Greek nation. In both cases class was more relevant than nation, because economic priorities, social strategies, and lifestyle considerations were the most important aspects of people's daily lives. Both the Greeks remaining in Bulgaria and those relocating to Greece focused on the need to secure the basic means for their everyday survival as a precondition of membership in the national body.

2. Brubaker, *Nationalism Reframed,* 55–78.

3. Hirschon, *Heirs of the Greek Catastrophe;* Peter Loizos, "Ottoman Half-Selves: Long-Term Perspectives on Particular Forced Migrations," *Journal of Refugee Studies* 12 (1999): 237–263.

4. John Davis, "The Anthropology of Suffering," *Journal of Refugee Studies* 5 (1992): 149–161.

5. Rogers Brubaker also differentiates between "nationalist politics" and "everyday ethnicity," using the terms "ethnic" and "ethnicity" when detailing the everyday life of individuals, and "national" and "nationalist" when recounting the actions of state bureaucracies and national activists. See Brubaker, *Nationalist Politics and Everyday Ethnicity,* 14.

The local dimensions of the relationship among natives, minorities, refugees, and state bureaucrats determined the behavior of the population. In Bulgaria, despite the attempts of officials to undermine the prominence of the minority, the Greeks effectively adjusted in their communities because they had the support of local Bulgarians who preferred their old Greek neighbors to the newly arriving Bulgarian refugees. In Greece, the native Greeks saw the immigrants from Bulgaria as competitors for the limited economic resources and treated them with hostility, which made the newcomers feel that they had been denied their Greekness. Although the members of the minority in Bulgaria belonged to a different nation, they were still "locals"; in contrast, the immigrants in Greece shared the same ethnicity with the rest of the population, but they were "outsiders." Both parties strove to improve their situations in their local communities, and their group identity remained strongly localized.

Ironically the cautious nationalism that the Bulgarian administrations pursued after World War I allowed more autonomy and space for agency to Greek minority individuals in Bulgaria compared to the constricted situation of the Greek immigrants in Greece.[6] Representing a wartime loser with a revisionist orientation, Bulgarian officials carefully considered how minority policies at home would affect their own minorities abroad; that was not the case with the wartime winner Greece, where authorities had to accommodate hundreds of thousands of refugees and deal with substantial minorities swiftly and decisively. Whereas Greek politicians, with the implementation of the Lausanne Treaty, embraced the principle of state rights in handling their minorities and refugees, Bulgarian officials, in their efforts to revise the Neuilly Treaty, remained committed to the principle of individual rights both within and outside their borders.[7] Focusing on the experiences of ordinary people and their strategies for dealing with the homogenizing policies of the Bulgarian and Greek governments, this chapter explores how states and citizens negotiated conflicting notions of nationality, citizenship, and community in the interwar years.

Uneasy Integration in Greece

When the Greeks started arriving in Greece from Bulgaria in 1924 and 1925, they joined a society experiencing one of its most severe crises since the creation of the independent Greek state in 1830. The country had to absorb

6. This observation builds upon Maria Todorova's concept of "weak nationalism," which tackles the inability of the extreme nationalist message, despite its pervasiveness, to gain currency in the Bulgarian public sphere after the humiliations of the Balkan Wars and the two world wars. According to Todorova, the wartime defeats "served as a sobering shock to the jingoistic irredentist nationalism" of extremists, while the Bulgarian public responded with a "gloomy and introspective mood" in the interwar years and "self-mockery and the employment of humor" after World War II. See Todorova, *Bones of Contention,* 506–513.

7. For the move from individual rights in the Neuilly Treaty to state rights in the Lausanne Treaty, see Dragostinova, "Navigating Nationality."

close to 1.5 million refugees from the Ottoman Empire resulting from the disastrous Greek-Turkish War of 1921–22 and the compulsory population exchange mandated by the Lausanne Treaty of 1923. Because the Greek defeat shattered the Greek aspirations for expansion in Asia Minor, putting an end to the Megali Idea, Greeks refer to the outcome of this war as "The Catastrophe" (*I Katastrophi*). Promoting the principle of state over individual rights, which was the basic assumption of the Lausanne Treaty, the Greek governments, after 1923, adopted policies that aimed at the quick absorption of the refugees within the existing state structures. But the influx of such a large outside population ripped at the social fabric of interwar Greece and led to an unremitting economic crisis, land scarcity, and fierce competition for rural plots, political rivalry between party factions, and continuous tensions between "locals" and "newcomers." Many Orthodox refugees did not speak Greek and had different customs and traditions from the population in Greece, as well as a different way of thinking. Others felt estranged from a country that had caused their indiscriminate expulsion from their native home. Numerous attempts were made, both internationally and at the state level, to assist the refugees, and the "refugee question" dominated Greek political and social life in the interwar period.[8] In these circumstances the Greek immigrants from Bulgaria had to compete in the process of incorporation into their new country of residence with a group of "compatriots" perceived as more destitute and unfortunate, and thus more deserving of attention.[9] Despite their relatively small number, the nearly fifty thousand Greeks from Bulgaria remained vocal social and political actors. However, because of their status as a voluntarily exchanged population, they felt apart from both the "old" local Greeks and the newly arriving forced migrants. It was the attempt to defend their unique place in the Greek national body that informed their struggles in the interwar years.

The initial years of resettlement brought many problems to the Bulgarian Greeks because of the complicated situation in Greece following the arrival of the refugees from the Ottoman Empire. The immigrants from Bulgaria had the reputation of being "cheerful and courageous people ready to begin life again. They made little complaint of their treatment in Bulgaria, but they were very conscious of the economic waste of the change."[10] During the emigration of the minority between 1924 and 1925, Greek officials had recommended to the government to provide "as much land as possible" to the emigrants, because "even a palm would not remain uncultivated."

8. Hirschon, *Heirs of the Greek Catastrophe;* Loizos, "Ottoman Half-Selves"; Hirschon, *Crossing the Aegean;* Pentzopoulos, *The Balkan Exchange;* Bruce Clark, *Twice a Stranger: The Mass Expulsions That Forged Modern Greece and Turkey* (Cambridge, Mass., 2006); Dimitra Giannuli, "Greeks or 'Strangers at Home': The Experience of Ottoman Greek Refugees during Their Exodus to Greece, 1922–1923," *JMGS* 13 (1995): 271–287.

9. League of Nations, *The Refugee Settlement in Greece* (Athens, 1997).

10. Hilda Clark, "Greece and Bulgaria: The Exchange of Population," *The Friend,* 1 July 1927.

The Bulgarian Greeks perceived themselves as "industrious and peaceful," desired immediate commencement of economic activity, and believed that they would become "self-sufficient and wealthy contributors to public prosperity."[11] Yet reality crushed their expectations; although they acquired citizenship and political rights from the moment of their arrival in Greece, their socioeconomic adaptation lagged in all respects. Available land was scarce, and the climate in the allocated localities was unsuitable for their traditional agricultural activities. State financial means were limited, and the emigrants frequently were in competition with other refugees. Even affluent individuals could not acquire plots of land or real estate and various institutions required endless paperwork, prolonging their plight for permanent settlement.[12] Instead of starting prosperous lives anew, as Greek representatives had promised, the Bulgarian Greek communities fought complicated administrative battles to secure the means necessary for their survival. The stress of becoming accustomed to a new country when economic resources were scarce, and especially with administrative procedures still in progress, influenced the way that the Greeks from Bulgaria perceived their relationship to the Greek state and society in these years.

According to Greek statistics, in 1928 there were a total of 49,027 former Bulgarian residents in Greece, and 28,050 of them had relocated after 1923. Most compact settlements were around Salonica, Siar/Serres, Drama, and Gianitsa in Macedonia; a total of 31,807 Greeks from Bulgaria settled in the area, and 3,039 in Salonica itself. Some 9,191 chose various places in Thrace, including Alexandroupolis, Orestiada, Souphli, Didimoteichos, Komotini, and Xanthi. The old 1906 communities in Thessaly around Volos amounted to 5,074 settlers. Finally, 2,761 former citizens of Bulgaria settled in "old" Greece, including 1,180 in the capital Athens.[13] The inhabitants of large cities often settled in separate places and lost their cohesiveness in the urban setting. The small communities, however, tried to stay together and re-create life around their traditional social networks.[14]

When Greek officials decided that the inhabitants of Sozopol/Sozoupolis, Mesemvria, and Anhialo/Anchialos would reestablish their towns in nearby settlements around Salonica, this proximity motivated many to emigrate, because surviving as a group created a sense of security for the displaced population. However, the landlocked interior of Macedonia turned many fishermen against emigration (see map 3).[15] The Greeks from Mesemvria had negotiated the exchange of properties with Bulgarians in the village of

11. IAIE, 1925, A/24.2. MC member Gogos to IE, 11 September 1925.

12. For the similar ordeal of all Greek refugees, see League of Nations, *The Refugee Settlement in Greece.*

13. *Statistika apotelesmata tis apographis tou plithismou tis Elladas tis 15–16.05.1928,* vol. 1, *Pragmatikos kai nomimos plithismos-prosphiges* (Athens, 1933).

14. For the various settlement sites, see Maravelakis and Vakalopoulos, *Oi prosphigikes enkatastaseis,* 5–8, 176–179, 264–267, 272–274, 344–346.

15. Konstantinidis, *I Mesemvria par' Evxinou,* 61.

Bulgariovo near Salonica and renamed the village Nea Mesemvria shortly after their arrival.[16] Despite these preparations, the transition did not go smoothly. The Mesemvrians that reached Salonica in late 1925 spent several months in tents and temporary shacks in the refugee camp at Harmankeuy. Because of disease, malnutrition, and inadequate medical care, some 150 individuals lost their lives.[17] Because their new settlement was "far away from the roar of the waves," Mesemvrians engaged in viniculture and horticulture. But when the climate and soil composition proved unsuitable and their harvests perished, many admitted making "a big mistake." Instead of working as "vine growers, the craft they knew," the colonists had to "become farmers and grab the plough, which they did not know [how to use]."[18] Communal leaders and ordinary people alike felt that, "[here] we came with nothing while there [in Bulgaria] we had everything."[19]

After their time in the refugee camp, the inhabitants of Sozopol/Sozoupolis moved to Topsin near Nea Mesemvria. The population shared the village with refugees from Mitrini in Eastern Thrace (incorporated in Turkey after 1923), and the two groups established parallel neighborhoods on the two sides of the main road.[20] A dispute with the Mitrini refugees over the name of the village was finally resolved in 1928, when the two groups agreed to call it Gephira, meaning "bridge," after the nearby river and also as a symbol of friendship. But relations between the two groups remained strained for many years: "They were refugees, we were refugees, but in the beginning there was suspicion . . . we were somehow different."[21] When officials started allotting compensation for their properties in Bulgaria in November 1928, the evaluations seemed outrageous and the monies went toward the repayment of the settlement loans.[22] In the early 1930s the inhabitants "ha[d] not managed to get on their feet because they sow[ed] but d[id] not reap . . . and if one ask[ed] about their situation, he would receive the stereotypical answer, 'misery and hunger.'"[23] For many

16. About the exchange with Bulgariovo, see IAPE, Ath 32 and Ath 59, interviews with men from Mesemvria. See also Georgios Agelopoulos, "From Bulgarievo to Nea Krasia, from 'Two Settlements' to 'One Village': Community Formation, Collective Identities, and the Role of the Individual," in *Ourselves and Others: The Development of a Greek Macedonian Cultural Identity since 1912*, ed. Peter Mackridge and Eleni Yannakakis, 133–152 (Oxford, 1997).

17. Maravelakis and Vakalopoulos, *Oi prosphigikes enkatastaseis*, 274.

18. Konstantinidis, *I Mesemvria par' Evxinou*, 61.

19. IAPE, Ath 88, interview with a man from Mesemvria.

20. Maravelakis and Vakalopoulos, *Oi prosphigikes enkatastaseis*, 267; Emmanouil Papatheodorou, *Metres, Sozoupoli, Gephira* (Gephira, 1991), 91–94.

21. Ibid., 97; and IAPE, Ath 123, interview with a man from Sozopol/Sozoupolis.

22. "Difficult years. [We received] bonds for the properties in Bulgaria. Whatever they thought was right, don't think it was a big deal . . . you declare twenty thousand but you get ten." IAPE, Ath 123, interview with a man from Sozopol/Sozoupolis. See also Papaioannidou, *Istoria tis en Ponto Apollonias*, 95–96.

23. Ibid., 96; Margaritis Konstantinidis, *I Apollonia par' Evxinou (Sozopolin nin). Apo ton chronon tis apikiseos avtis mechri ton 1913–14* (Athens, 1957), 189.

immigrants, the triad "exile, deprivation, misery" (*prosphigia, phthochia, mizeria*) expressed the hardship of their new lives.[24]

The Greeks from Anhialo/Anchialos split into two groups that reflected the two migration waves from their community in 1906 and 1924–25.[25] The population in Nea Anchialos in Thessaly, which had resettled in 1906, requested that the state finally tackle the deadly swamps surrounding their town because "whatever disease one could imagine, we had it in the village."[26] The Ministry of Agriculture dispatched engineers to complete the drainage of the stagnant waters in 1925. Living conditions improved as the malaria outbreaks abated and families acquired additional land in 1927.[27] Still, many 1906 refugees had already decided to move to Greek Macedonia. They negotiated with officials to acquire the Muslim farm Inglis, located fourteen kilometers from Salonica and close to the new homes of Mesemvrians and Sozopolitans, inaugurating Anchialos Makedonias in June 1923.[28] During the first years the women and children remained in Salonica while the men commuted for work in the fields or spent the night at the estates. But the soil appeared poor, the climate unsuitable for viniculture, and the land holdings small. After the disastrously dry summer of 1926, some dwellers sold their plots and departed for other areas of Greece.[29] Given these conditions, the inhabitants of the adjacent Anchialos Makedonias, Nea Mesemvria, and Gephira, who had enjoyed solidarity during the turmoil in Bulgaria in 1906 and 1924, engaged in bitter land controversies in Greece of the late-1920s.[30] The population suffered from the inhospitable climate and bemoaned its decision to establish settlements in the interior.[31]

Such drastic lifestyle changes led many to regret their departure from Bulgaria. This was true for the Greeks from Stanimaka/Stenimachos, one of the largest communities in Bulgaria, who dispersed into several localities despite their desire to establish one big settlement.[32] Greek agents had promised them rich vine-growing estates, yet upon arriving in Greece the newcomers discovered that the Asia Minor refugees had already occupied all the available prime land. Their disenchantment was profound, since "departing from Bulgaria with the hope to find at least a roof and a palm full of

24. IAPE, Ath 122, interview with a man from Sozopol/Sozoupolis. Other immigrants noted, "malaria, mosquitoes, many mosquitoes, deprivation," whereas "there were no mosquitoes in Bulgaria" (IAPE, Ath 123 and 124).

25. Mavrommatis, *I Anchialos mes'apo tis phloges;* Diamandopoulos, *I Anchialos;* Emmanouilidis, *Oi anthellinikoi diogmoi.*

26. IAPE, Ath 30, interview with a man from Anhialo/Anchialos.

27. Mavrommatis, *Anchialos mes' apo tis phloges,* 80; and Emmanouilidis, *Oi anthellinikoi diogmoi,* 51, 53.

28. Mavrommatis, *Anchialos mes' apo tis phloges,* 85–86, 99; and Maravelakis and Vakalopoulos *Oi prosphigikes enkatastaseis,* 176, 181–182.

29. Emmanouilidis, *Oi anthellinikoi diogmoi,* 98, 95, 102–103.

30. Ibid., 97.

31. Clark, "Greece and Bulgaria."

32. Most families settled around Veria and Salonica in Macedonia, but there were also others who settled around Drama and Kilkis. See Maravelakis and Vakalopoulos, *Oi prosphigikes enkatastaseis,* 60, 346, 352.

land to cultivate and earn their living, they only found tents in the marshes near Salonica and a little sand to bury their loved ones."[33] Many were bitter that they received "no support from the state" and gradually realized that "in Greece we don't have things as we had them [in Bulgaria]."[34]

The inhabitants of Kavakli (today Topolovgrad) also scattered into various settlements.[35] Because of their idiosyncratic customs, distinctive costumes, Bulgarian names, and unusual dialect, the Karioti/Kariotes did not blend easily within Greek society. Many felt a striking sense of alienation: "We hope that you never become refugees and experience the heartlessness and callousness of your brothers whom you had expected to embrace you, or at least you had never believed that they would greet you with sticks and tell you: 'You damned Bulgarian seed, go and settle elsewhere,' and reprimand us in such a way as if we had cholera."[36] The newcomers grew bitter about the inhospitable reception they encountered in their areas and the marginalization of their communities that received little economic aid in Greece.[37]

In this context, similar to other refugees in interwar Greece, the Bulgarian Greeks developed an awareness of their unique situation as a vested-interest group that did not fit neatly into the preexisting structures of Greek society.[38] But the population perceived itself as different from the other Greek newcomers, the Pontian and Asia Minor forced migrants. The Bulgarian Greeks did not see themselves as "refugees" (*prosphiges*) that deserved aid because of their desperate state after relocation; rather, they wanted official Greece to recognize them as "immigrants" (*metanastes*) with unique needs and special entitlements. This identification was full of contradictions. On the one hand, the Greeks from Bulgaria sought to inscribe themselves in the larger community of Greek "new citizens" after 1923 and demanded the privileges, such as land, loans, and compensation, which this status promised. Yet, on the other hand, they emphasized their distinctive situation as emigrants from Bulgaria, who had not fled their prosperous native places because of war, but who had voluntarily emigrated for the sake of the national cause and so deserved certain advantages in the process of integration. Because the Greek government had urged them to resettle before the mass uprooting of other refugees in 1923, they demanded

33. Apostolidis, *O Stenimachos,* 179.

34. IAPE, Ath 118, interview with a man from Stanimaka/Stenimachos.

35. Most inhabitants of Kavakli and Karies settled around Gianitsa in Macedonia, but there were also many communities in Thrace. See Maravelakis and Vakalopoulos, *Oi prosphigikes enkatastaseis,* 66, 171, 219. See also Germidis, "Chamenes ellinikes esties"; and Ioannis Papanastasiou, "Mikra kai meriki istoria ton chorion Megalou kai Mikrou Bogiatzilikon kai ton apoikion avton," *ATLGT* 27 (1962): 129–144.

36. Orestis Avlidis, *Kavakliotika* (Aigineio, 1974), quoted in Daskalova-Zheliaskova, *Karioti,* 13–14.

37. Germidis, "Chamenes ellinikes esties"; Daskalova-Zheliaskova, *Karioti;* Apostolidis, *Voulgaroi i Ellines isan oi Kariotai?*

38. Hirschon, *Heirs of the Greek Catastrophe;* Vergeti, *Apo tin Ponto stin Ellada;* Marantzidis, *Giasasin Millet/Zito to ethnos.*

preferential accommodation, which they considered particularly appropriate because Greek diplomats had "misled" them about the true situation that they would face in Greece.[39]

Concerns over legal status were closely linked to financial issues as related to the compensation of the immigrants' properties and their settlement in Greece.[40] The Bulgarian Greeks fell under the authority of two organizations, the Mixed Commission on Bulgarian-Greek Emigration that liquidated the properties they had left in Bulgaria and the Refugee Settlement Committee that took care of the accommodation of all refugees in Greece. Although some Greeks had not filed declarations for property liquidation, preferring to sell their properties at the market price before relocating to Greece, the majority relied on the Mixed Commission to liquidate their properties in Bulgaria. For the Commission, the years after 1925 entailed the work of the individual property liquidation, including the verification of ownership rights, the correlation of property values in both countries, the work of various experts on the ground, and the actual payment to the emigrants in cash and bonds. After experts working in Bulgaria completed the process of determining the exact value of each property, the Bulgarian government paid 10 percent of the amount in cash and the Greek National Bank issued bonds for the other 90 percent. The Mixed Commission also determined the compensation of the emigrants for the abuse of their rights from requisitions, forced conscription, or internment during the wars. But while the goal of the recent arrivals was to secure money for their immediate settlement as soon as possible, the personnel of the Mixed Commission proceeded slowly and finished its work of liquidating the properties only in 1929, leaving some individuals without adequate financial resources for four years.[41]

Another organization with jurisdiction over the population was the Refugee Settlement Committee (RSC) set up in Greece under the supervision of the League of Nations to coordinate the accommodation and distribution of economic aid to all Greek refugees. Because the Bulgarian Greeks were expected to receive money from the liquidation of their properties in Bulgaria through the Mixed Commission, initially the RSC decided that this group did not qualify for financial assistance from the Greek state or the international organizations involved in the refugee settlement. This decision caused considerable distress to the population, as the RSC left them ineligible for land and real estate distribution, construction loans, agricultural subsidies, amelioration projects, and the additional social benefits that the other refugees received. Only with the energetic intervention of influential leaders, notably Apostolos Doxiadis from Stanimaka/Stenimachos who was

39. IAIE, 1927, 39.2.2. The Organization of Northern Thrace, 4 February 1927.

40. For a similar development among Asia Minor refugees, see Hirschon, *Heirs of the Greek Catastrophe*, 45–46.

41. Mixed Commission on Greco-Bulgarian Emigration, *Memorandum*, 8, 18–31.

a member of Parliament and an important refugee settlement official, were they included in the refugee settlement policies and thus benefited from the international refugee loan that Greece received in 1924.[42]

In an attempt to attract attention to their problems, representatives of the Bulgarian Greeks, despite the relatively small number of the population, launched vocal campaigns for better treatment in settlement and compensation. Because many immigrants did not understand the provisions of the Convention, could not handle the complicated paperwork, or lacked the required documents, various associations took control of the process. These organizations issued certificates to the immigrants, helped them with the forms, clarified formalities, and composed petitions on behalf of the communities.[43] Their leaders complained about injustices against the "disheartened" and "exhausted" Greeks from Bulgaria and worked to improve the "maddening and unbelievable" state of affairs after relocation.[44] In the years immediately after resettlement, the population shared an overwhelming sense of solidarity, regardless of locality and social status, as individuals came together to protest the injustices they had experienced after their relocation and to underscore their disappointment with their treatment in Greece.

In 1927 and 1928 representatives of the Bulgarian Greeks filed numerous petitions criticizing the sluggishness of the Mixed Commission and the ineffective work of the Greek National Bank.[45] The immigrants carefully scrutinized the property evaluation process, of which they remained highly dubious. The population had two principal objections: one associated with the administrative difficulties in Bulgaria and the other linked to the financial arrangements in Greece. Because of Bulgarian obstacles, the Greeks often failed to send representatives to Bulgaria to supervise the property evaluations carried out by the Mixed Commission's experts. The Bulgarian refugees who had received their properties sometimes changed the crops or altered the house plans, so that the compensation agreed upon in the regional commissions did not reflect the actual price of the property before it was abandoned. The experts in the Mixed Commission applied the categories for indemnification unfairly, sometimes classifying vine crops as uncultivated fields or liquidating urban estates at undervalued prices.[46] The immigrants disagreed altogether with compensation in bonds rather than

42. Apostolidis, *O Stenimachos,* 80.

43. IAATE, Correspondence of the Mixed Commission for Greek-Bulgarian Emigration, file 14. Memo of the Salonica Branch of the Agricultural Bank, 1 June 1933, concerning paperwork irregularities (ibid.; files 8 and 10 contain certificates issued by immigrants associations).

44. IAIE, 1927, 39.1.2. *Phos* and *Makedonia,* 13 May 1927; and IAIE, 1927, 39.1.1. *Angeleiophoros,* 17 July 1927.

45. IAIE, 1927, 39.1.1. *Angeleiophoros,* 17 July 1927; IAIE, 1927, 39.1.2. The Commission of Bulgarian Greeks, 23 August 1927; IAIE, 1927, 39.2.2. *Makedonika Nea,* 25, 26, and 27 January 1927; IAIE, 1928, 45.4.1. The Confederation of Refugees from Bulgaria, 20 December 1928; and TsDA, f. 176k, op. 5, a.e. 419, ll. 73–74. *Elevtheron Vima,* 29 January 1927.

46. See the numerous petitions of former Bulgarian inhabitants in IAIE, 1927, 41.1.2–3; IAIE, 1927, 39.1.1–2; IAIE, 1927, 39.2.2; and IAIE, 1928, 45.4.1.

cash. The bonds they received had little value, since the National Bank of Greece could only cash these financial documents after twenty years and soon stopped issuing loans secured by these bonds altogether. Under these circumstances—receiving poor land and borrowing money under unfavorable conditions—the population suffered "immeasurable damage."[47]

The immigrants believed that had the Greek government chosen the people supervising their emigration more carefully, "the victims among the Bulgarians Greeks would have been fewer and their settlement easier."[48] As early as 1923, disgruntled citizens exposed the "total inadequacy" of the Greek member of the Mixed Commission, Georgios Tsorbatzis, who "threaten[ed] to damage interests [amounting to] millions," and proposed as his replacement Dimitris Vogazlis, an attorney from Plovdiv/Philippoupolis with local knowledge of matters in Bulgaria.[49] In the population's view, the Greek members of the Mixed Commission, despite their high salaries, demonstrated a "classic inability" in the handling of their affairs, many immigrants having received barely 25 percent of the value of their property.[50] The immigrants claimed that Greek officials did not prepare their emigration well or provide resources to facilitate their integration, but only made "numerous promises to sweeten the sourness of exile."[51]

Because of the administrative and financial chaos, the population remained critical of the governments of Alexandros Zaimis and Elevtherios Venizelos. The Bulgarian Greeks believed that "nobody show[ed] interest in our struggle, not even the state, which d[id] not protect us or help us in any way," despite the fact that some individuals had been struggling for accommodation in Greece since 1906.[52] The petitioners attacked the government's "criminal disregard" which hurt the "national pride and credence of the citizens in their state."[53] As one editorial concluded, "though generally the State exists for the advancement of the individual and his advancement is considered as an advancement of the State, the opposite occurs . . . in our country."[54] The immigrants believed they were sacrificed so that "other Greek interests could be strengthened elsewhere" at the expense of securing their survival as a minority in Bulgaria.[55] Many realized that, had there been a more flexible policy of the Greek administration, they could have

47. IAIE, 1927, 39.2.1. MC to IE, 18 January 1927.

48. Apostolidis, *O Stenimachos,* 80.

49. This was the same Vogazlis described in the opening paragraph of this chapter. IAIE, 1923, 21.4.2. The Organization of Northern Thrace to IE, 23 and 29 November 1923; and Tsorbatzis to IE, 7 December 1923.

50. IAIE, 1927, 39.1.2. Greek emigrants from Bulgaria in Drama and Kavala, 4 September 1927; and IAIE, 1928, 45.4.1. The Confederation of Refugees from Bulgaria, 20 December 1928.

51. Papadopoulos, "Ta dikaia," 76.

52. IAIE, 1927, 41.1. Greeks from Ortakeuy, 12 October 1927.

53. IAIE, 1927, 41.1.3. *O Agon,* 1 November 1927.

54. IAIE, 1928, 45.4.1. *Tachidromos,* 12 December 1928.

55. Papadopoulos, "Ta dikaia," 76.

continued their prosperous lives in Bulgaria. At this point, however, already in Greece, they had, in their words, to "fight for our shattered rights."[56]

Whereas in 1906 many refugees had returned to Bulgaria after they had encountered unsatisfactory settlement conditions in Greece, in the 1920s the Greeks from Bulgaria had no option but to accept the irreversibility of their choices and to adapt to a state where they (once again) felt like outsiders. Trying to accommodate hundreds of thousands of refugees after 1923, the Greek government assumed the primacy of state interest over individual rights and allowed little if any autonomy to communities and private persons seeking permanent settlement. As a result, the immigrants from Bulgaria experienced widespread alienation from a "homeland" that failed to recognize and safeguard their unique rights. Many underscored the irony that, in their original localities in Bulgaria, "for many centuries we had managed to preserve our nationality in the midst of barbarian foes," but now in Greece they faced treatment "as if we were not children of this motherland."[57] While trying to cope with their difficult circumstances in Greece, the Greeks from Bulgaria emphasized the fact that although they were part of the Greek nation, they did not feel that they had been accepted by the Greek society or state. The immigrants started digesting the painful fact that nationality did not guarantee a smooth integration into the nation-state, and, because their social acceptance in Greece was far from automatic, they felt like "internal strangers."[58] It was not their nationality but their marginal status as newcomers that determined the way they adjusted in Greece.

Strained Encounters in Bulgaria

The Greeks that remained in Bulgaria faced their own share of challenges in a country that had suffered total collapse in the Great War. Political instability, economic insecurity, and national anxiety following the war strengthened the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union as an alternative to traditional political parties. Once Alexander Stamboliĭski became prime minister in 1919, he initiated radical reform that benefited the rural poor but antagonized the rich, the military, and the intelligentsia. Refugee associations representing some 280,000 new Bulgarian citizens constituted powerful, often disruptive interest groups; this was true for the radical wings of the Macedonian organizations that spread terror in the country and strained relations with its neighbors. Only in 1926 did the Andreĭ Liapchev government convince the League of Nations that the country needed a refugee settlement loan to

56. IAIE, 1927, 39.1.2. Greek emigrants from Bulgaria in Drama and Kavala, 4 September 1927.

57. IAIE, 1927, 39.2.2. The Union of Stenimachos Greeks, 16 September 1927.

58. Pamela Ballinger, "Borders of the Nation, Borders of Citizenship: Italian Repatriation and the Redefinition of National Identity after World War II," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 49 (2007): 736.

counter the influence of Macedonian radicals and Communists and to start much needed agricultural settlement and infrastructure improvement.[59]

Because of the chaotic situation in the country after the war, the Bulgarian governments did not have a clear vision or systematic policy on how to handle their diverse populations in the late 1920s. Although the administration wanted to use the Bulgarian refugees to neutralize the influence of minorities, especially the Muslims, in strategic areas close to the Turkish and Greek borders, it faced international limitations that prevented such attempts. In addition, Bulgarian officials continued to espouse the principle of reciprocity in minority treatment, and, in an effort to alleviate the plight of Bulgarian minorities abroad, they hesitated to enforce strict policies on foreign minorities within. This trend was clear in the treatment of the Turks and Pomaks in the interwar years, with the administration vacillating among the desired assimilation, expulsion, or marginalization of the two groups.[60] The weak Bulgarian state of the interwar years adopted a form of cautious nationalism that, in contrast to other eastern European countries, most notably Czechoslovakia and Poland, allowed a degree of autonomy to individuals and respected the principle of individual rights.[61] But the lack of complete control over the population was coupled with the frequent inability to curb the omnipresent rhetoric and aggressive actions of noisy nationalists that dominated the public sphere. The main confrontation of the Greeks remaining in Bulgaria in the late 1920s was not with state officials but with disgruntled refugees and bitter activists in search of "national enemies."

In the late 1920s Bulgaria remained a residence of choice for many Greeks who rationalized that "it wasn't urgent to leave . . . [because] they didn't want to become refugees [in Greece]."[62] Greek diplomats explained that the Bulgarian Greeks "feared for their future [in Bulgaria] but also d[id] not dare to leave their native place [*geneteira*] . . . because, going to Greece with fewer financial means, they would become refugees." In late 1925 two categories of Greeks remained in Bulgaria: the Greek citizens and the Bulgarian citizens. According to Greek diplomatic reports, the persons holding Greek citizenship amounted to some four to five thousand individuals. It was difficult to estimate the Bulgarian citizens because many "declared in the statistic catalogues . . . to be Bulgarian nationals [*Voulgaroi tin ethnikotita*]," but Greek representatives approximated the number of "ethnic Greeks" (*Ellines tou genous*) to be around 9,900 in 1925.[63] The Bulgarian census of 1926 documented 4,146 Greek citizens and 10,861 Bulgarian residents who declared

59. Crampton, *Bulgaria,* 224–239; Joseph Rothschild, *East Central Europe between the Two World Wars* (Seattle, 1974), 333–348.

60. Mancheva, "Image and Policy"; Neuburger, *The Orient Within,* 44–45.

61. For the treatment of minorities in interwar East-Central Europe, see Brubaker, *Nationalism Reframed,* 79–106; and Zahra, *Kidnapped Souls,* 106–141.

62. IAPE, Ath 59, interview with a man from Mesemvria.

63. IAIE, 1925, G/63.5. MC member Xanthos to IE, 4 December 1925.

to have Greek "nationality" (*narodnost*), largely confirming the Greek estimates. As a result of the emigration from the previous two years, there was a striking decline in the number of Greeks "by nationality" compared to the 43,083 Greek nationals counted in the 1920 census.[64]

Despite the clear decrease in numbers, compact and visible Greek communities remained in Bulgaria throughout the 1920s and 1930s, mainly in the Black Sea towns of Anhialo/Anchialos, Sozopol/Sozoupolis, and Mesemvria, where the Greeks comprised approximately one-third of the total population, but also in Stanimaka/Stenimachos, Plovdiv/Philippoupolis, and Varna. The diminishing number of the minority did not lead to the disappearance of the Greek element from these traditionally Greek localities but rather to their adaptation to increasing nationalization and their transition to a more informal community organization. Greek individuals who remained in Bulgaria knew that they had to adapt to nationalizing pressures and abandon their community activism from the early 1920s. For that reason, many ignored the importance of their nationality in their daily interactions and chose to emphasize other aspects of their group identity. In the interwar years, established social networks, economic strategies, kinship relations, and local power dynamics sustained the preservation of otherness among the Greeks. Their successful adaptation in Bulgaria reveals the divergence between the noisy rhetoric of national activists obsessed with national purity and the messier reality of people's daily lives that defied a neat separation between nations.

After 1925 the governments of Tsankov and Liapchev generally did not see the Greeks as an urgent matter and were only interested in the minority as a pressure tool in negotiations with Greek representatives. Nevertheless, local officials and national activists in the formerly Greek localities were preoccupied with the "unfavorable" composition of their communities. Throughout the interwar years, diligent administrators, embittered refugees, and violent nationalists expressed irritation at the economic viability and cultural prominence of the Greeks and exercised pressures against the population. Nationalist leaders suggested methods of silencing the minority that would do "greater miracles than education"; they argued that the Greeks could transform into model Bulgarians within twenty years if the government quartered "a platoon of not so flexible Bulgarians" in each Greek town and settled Bulgarian soldiers in the homes of prominent Greek fami-

64. In 1926 there were 1,288 Greeks in Varna (43,873 Bulgarians), 1,236 in Burgas/Pirgos (31,157 Bulgarians), 549 in Plovdiv/Philippoupolis (63,268 Bulgarians), 743 in Stanimaka/Stenimachos (17,287 Bulgarians), 331 in Mesemvria (1,626 Bulgarians), 1,277 in Sozopol/Sozoupolis (2,842 Bulgarians), 1,553 in Anhialo/Anchialos (2,592 Bulgarians), and 253 in Ortakeuy (1,842 Bulgarians). Zheko Chankov, *Naselenieto na Bâlgariia* (Sofia, 1935), 57, 98–100, 201. See also TsDA, f. 719k, op. 26, a.e. 6, ll. 114, 116. Memo of the Directorate of Statistics, 23 October 1930. In addition, there were 2,866 Karakachani and 4,362 Gagauz, but Greek diplomats focused on the "pure" Greeks and ignored these two groups. For the Bulgarian censuses, see Kotzageorgi, *Oi Ellines tis Voulgarias*, 216.

lies.[65] Indeed, the Bulgarian navy units stationed in Sozopol/Sozoupolis kept the Greeks in check and sometimes abused the population.[66] In the big cities administrators persistently pursued ownership rights over Greek churches, schools, and charitable organizations. Officials in Varna were implicated in drawing up petitions that, allegedly, "voluntarily" ceded all Greek communal properties to the city. The mayor of Plovdiv/Philippoupolis urged local police authorities to "convince" Greek families to sign declarations recognizing Bulgarian control over such assets.[67] Even Greek diplomats were not immune from Bulgarian anger, as was evident in Burgas/Pirgos in 1929 where a discontented refugee from Macedonia, reviewing the disappointing evaluation of his property in Greece, publicly threatened the Greek consul that he would be held responsible for the "robbery" committed by his government.[68] Such incidents occurred only sporadically but added to the perception, spread by nationalist organizations, that being affiliated with Greece was undesirable, if not dangerous, in Bulgaria.

The fragile status of the Greeks was closely linked to the presence of Bulgarian refugees that arrived in their areas after the wars. Because of international limitations, officials settled most refugees in the Burgas/Pirgos district, and the arrival of these compact populations accelerated the Bulgarization of many Greek localities.[69] The encounter with the refugees was a traumatic experience for the Greeks, for these were individuals with strong anti-Greek feelings, having been expelled from their native home by the Greek authorities. The refugees insisted that the Greeks should be treated equally harshly in Bulgaria and questioned the patriotism of anyone who defended the Greeks.[70] Bulgarian officials settled many refugees in the homes of Greeks who had declared their intention to emigrate; thus the new residents transformed the Greek neighborhoods and interfered with the traditions of the remaining minority. The demographic shift was conspicuous in the smaller towns, as municipal authorities built new refugee

65. IAIE, 1922, 94.4. Translation of "How Shall They Bulgarize?" *Rabotnicheski vestnik,* 8 April 1922. The "not so flexible" Bulgarians were identified as the rural population around the capital Sofia, also known as Shopi.

66. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 5, a.e. 256, ll. 121, 130–131. *Makedonika Nea,* 3 September 1926; MV to MVRI, 27 October 1926.

67. TsDA, f. 719k, op. 26, a.e. 2, l. 16. Protocol of a meeting in Varna, 14 July 1928; DA-Plovdiv, f. 29k, op. 1, a.e 182, ll. 19–21. Memos of the Plovdiv mayor and police chief, 15 and 23 December 1927; Undated Declaration of Plovdiv inhabitants of Greek nationality.

68. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 22, a.e 244, l. 1. Memo of MVRI, 24 August 1929.

69. The League of Nations, urged by the governments of Greece and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, prohibited Bulgarian refugee settlement within fifty kilometers of its borders with Greece and Serbia, limiting the localities at the disposal of the Bulgarian administration, which explains why most refugees were settled in the Burgas district (see map 3). For the Bulgarian refugees, see Dragostinova, "Competing Priorities, Ambiguous Loyalties." Other studies include Hitelov, *Selskostopanskoto nastaniavane;* Dimitrov, *Nastaniavane i ozemliavane;* Todor Kosatev, "Nastaniavane na bezhantsite v Burgaski okrâg 1919–1932," *Istoricheski pregled* 2 (1975): 57–69; and Stefan Shivachev, "Bezhanskiiat vâpros v Plovdivski okrâg," *Izvestiia na muzeite ot Iuzhna Bâlgariia* 13 (1987): 183–199.

70. TsDA, f. 719k, op. 24, a.e. 632, ll. 31–32. Petition of Dino Daradanov, a refugee settled in Mesemvria, 8 July 1926.

neighborhoods on the outskirts of Sozopol/Sozoupolis, Mesemvria, and Anhialo/Anchialos.[71] On an everyday level, the encounter with the refugees was a life-changing experience for the minority, both economically, as they shared land and their livelihood with the newcomers, and socially, as they experienced profound changes in their daily interactions. The growing Bulgarian population also tore the cultural fabric of Greek communities by celebrating uniquely Bulgarian holidays and introducing nationalist themes into local life.[72] The new Bulgarian majority not only displaced the minority spatially and altered the appearance of their towns physically but also redefined the social climate in localities previously known as "Little Greece" (*Mikri Ellada*).

As a means of creating employment opportunities for the refugees, officials promoted economic activities on the Black Sea coast, developing Burgas/Pirgos and Varna as ports while transforming the smaller Black Sea communities into tourist centers. As early as 1922 the Naval Union called on the population to appreciate the maritime resources, disseminated posters inviting "everybody to the seaside," and organized naval celebrations, exhibitions of fishing equipment, and lectures on naval topics. Its leaders believed that "the struggle for the unification of the Bulgarian people [wa]s directly linked to the permanent colonization of the [Black Sea] seashore," and they urged their compatriots: "Bulgarians, come to the sea, get to know it, love it, and remain there!"[73] Although the professed goal was economic development, officials and refugee leaders alike adopted anti-Greek positions as they sought to undermine the Greek prominence in profitable economic sectors such as salt mining, fishing, and vine growing. The Naval Union branch in Varna encouraged "the nationalization of our seashores through the transfer of the Greek population in Bulgaria or its Bulgarization."[74] Organizations in Burgas/Pirgos proposed the replacement of all Greek fishermen with Bulgarian refugees familiar with the fishing business.[75] The Practical Fishery School, founded in Sozopol/Sozoupolis in 1926, put this mission into action by attracting Bulgarian refugees who competed with Greek fishermen.[76] Local officials were acutely aware that the Bulgarization of the Black Sea coast would involve the redistribution of economic assets from the Greek minority to the Bulgarian majority. Throughout the period nationalists attacked the remaining Greeks by raising the specter of Greek

71. DA-Burgas, f. 151k, op. 1, a.e. 1–4. Protocols of the Mesemvria City Council, 1925–1945; and DA-Burgas, f. 152k, op. 1, a.e. 4–16. Protocols of the Sozopol City Council, 1920–1939.

72. For a description of the Day of Macedonia in Anhialo/Anchialos, see *Nezavisima Makedoniia*, 24 July 1925.

73. IAIE, 1922, 94.2.1. *Utro* and *Slovo* from August and September 1922.

74. IAIE, 1922, 94.4. Translation of "How Shall They Bulgarize?" *Rabotnicheski vestnik*, 8 April 1922; IAIE, 1922, 94.2.1. EPS to IE, 1/14 September 1922. Greek diplomats believed that its goal was "to annihilate the Greeks who remain on the seaside and to settle Bulgarians in their place."

75. IAIE, 1924, A/5XII, 8. EPS to IE, 7 March 1924; IAIE, 1924, A/5XII, 5. EPP to IE, 29 November 1924; and TsDA, f. 176k, op. 5, a.e. 256, l. 28. MVRNZ to MVRI, 13 July 1925.

76. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 5, a.e. 256, ll. 121, 130–131. *Makedonika Nea*, 3 September 1926.

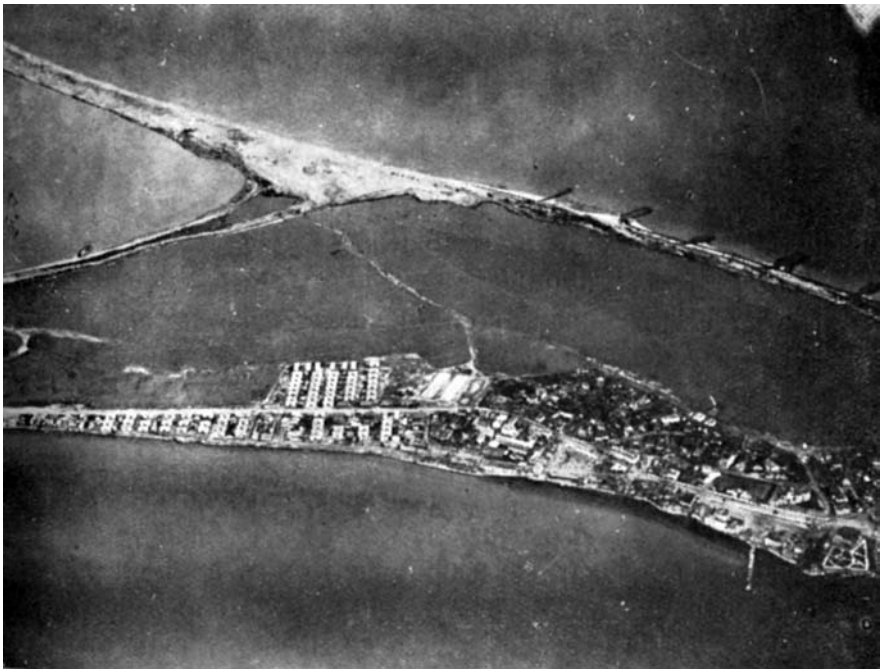

Figure 7. *An airplane view of Anhialo/Anchialos showing the old town predominantly inhabited by Greeks (*at right*) and the new refugee neighborhood, built on the outskirts to accommodate Bulgarian refugees (*at left*). The Bulgarian Refugee Settlement Commission built similar uniform homes in other Greek towns. K. Hitelov, ed.,* Selskostopanskoto nastaniavane na bezhantsite *(Sofia: Glavna direktsia za nastaniavane na bezhantsite, 1932), 85.*

exploitation of the Bulgarians and openly professed that "our seaside should be Bulgarized [*da se pobâlgari*] and not [left for] the Greeks to Grecisize it [*da go pogârchvat*]."[77]

Despite the pervasive national propaganda promoted by assertive nationalist organizations and vocal refugee leaders, the Greek population sought alternative channels for social interaction outside the dominant national culture. Following the mid-1920s, as relations at the local level improved, many Greeks thrived economically, maintained their social cohesiveness, and continued to use their language. Ironically the arrival of the Bulgarian refugees, while forcing many Greeks out, also created a situation in which local Bulgarians favored their Greek neighbors over the "new" Bulgarians. Cordial relations between the two ethnic groups at the local level persisted, because "those from there [*avtoi apo ekei*]," that is, the refugees, caused

77. DA-Burgas, f. 82k, op. 1, a.e. 45, ll. 72–73. Undated Report of the Anhialo Police Chief.

new social divisions within the communities.[78] The refugees constantly complained of the union between "venal Bulgarians" and "fanatic Greeks" and wondered why local Bulgarians petitioned against refugees settling in their localities.[79] Typically the local Bulgarians continued to interact with their Greek neighbors while distrusting the newcomers who had caused the disruption in their communities.

In 1928 a visitor encountered the cordial attitude of local Bulgarians toward the Greeks in Anhialo/Anchialos. "'We expelled the Bulgarians and now we have to deal with the Greeks,' our friends say, and by this they mean that they expelled the law-abiding Greek who wanted the best for the place because this was his place, too . . . and received in return the Bulgarian [refugee] from Macedonia who continuously harassed them."[80] This reversal of nationality, with "Bulgarians" referring to the Greek minority fleeing Bulgaria and "Greeks" signifying the Bulgarian refugees arriving from Greece, confirms that the population established peaceful relations based on local solidarities rather than national allegiances. This situation revealed the strained relations not between Bulgarians and Greeks as bounded groups but between insiders and outsiders within the local communities. Arriving in large numbers as refugees, the "new" Bulgarians were also disruptive elements to the "old," local Bulgarians. Many Greeks realized that "it is not fair, when we speak about the Bulgarian people and their feelings toward [the Greeks], to include in the same group the Bulgarian Macedonian, the northern Bulgarian, and the southern Bulgarian." The population recognized that it was mainly the refugees from Macedonia who "hate[d] instinctually, one would say, everything Greek."[81] Thus many ordinary Greeks reasoned: "There were some good Bulgarians, there were some bad ones, too."[82] This manner of thinking prioritized the everyday experience of co-villagers who shared common interests, allowing close links between Bulgarians and Greeks in their communities.

Because the destitute Bulgarian refugees became a financial burden for the indigenous population and strained social relations at the local level, social status acquired larger importance over nationality in everyday life. The remaining Greeks did not comprise a homogeneous social class: some indigent individuals had chosen to stay in Bulgaria because they lacked resources to start new lives in Greece; others had refused to resettle because they wanted to preserve their secure economic positions in their native land. In the interwar years, Greeks continued to own and manage successful businesses in Varna, Burgas/Pirgos, and Plovdiv/Philippoupolis, and their economic assets and connections remained influential in Sozopol/Sozoupolis, Anhialo/Anchialos, and Mesemvria. Their activities spanned the whole

78. IAPE, Ath 1, interview with a woman from Burgas/Pirgos.
79. *Trakiia,* 24 January, 19 and 26 June 1924; *Nezavisima Makedoniia,* 15 August 1924.
80. Korakas, "Anamniseis apo tin Palaia Anchialo," 145.
81. Vogazlis, "Voulgaroi kai Ellines," 106–107, 119, 138.
82. IAPE, Ath 118, interview with a man from Stanimaka/Stenimachos.

Figure 8. *Young people in Sozopol/Sozoupolis in the interwar years dressed in costumes for the carnival before the beginning of Lent (*apokries*). These social occasions brought the population together regardless of whether the participants were Greeks or Bulgarians. Personal photograph of Dafinka Chervenkova from Sozopol.*

spectrum of economic life, including real estate transactions, commercial enterprises, small- and large-scale manufacturing, retail, agricultural production, as well as involvement in the fishing, wine production, and salt-mining businesses.[83] Greek fishermen continued to enjoy prestige as they possessed valuable skills and technological advantages over their Bulgarian competitors.[84] In this context, social status and common interest bound Bulgarians and Greeks together. Because the Greek localities were among the most prosperous in the country, the redistribution of power and property threatened local Bulgarians who had achieved a balance in sharing resources with the Greeks and feared that any change might be detrimental to their own well-being. Economic activity between Greeks and Bulgarians functioned as a form of intercultural contact, which depended on the openness of the populations and their willingness to interact, establish economic networks, and follow common strategies for success.

83. For a list of Greek businesses in the interwar period, see Kotzageorgi, *Oi Ellines tis Voulgarias*, 104–111. See also IAPE, Ath 124, interview with a man from Sozopol/Sozoupolis who refers to the successful business of his father as the reason his family left Bulgaria only in 1933.

84. TsDA, f. 719k, op. 24, a.e. 684, 692, and 694 refer to the annulment of declarations for emigration of fishermen from Mesemvria whose skills Bulgarian authorities needed after the emigration of the rest.

Mixed marriages and wedding sponsorships also favored the Greeks' prominent role in Bulgarian social life.[85] While marriages between Bulgarians and Greeks had existed before, Bulgarian refugees started marrying Greeks soon after their arrival, creating the informal basis of closer contacts between the communities.[86] Greek notables decried this practice as a conscious strategy of Bulgarization on the part of the majority.[87] However, economic and family considerations played the most important role in decisions concerning the household. In Sozopol/Sozoupolis, the students of the Practical Fishery School and the soldiers quartered in the military base regularly married Greek women. In Anhialo/Anchialos, Bulgarian public servants traditionally wedded local women, and their children became "staunch Bulgarians" because of the national activism of their fathers. But rich families in town also attracted male workers and female servants from neighboring Bulgarian villages and sponsored their marriages into Greek families. In these cases the Greek lifestyle and language prevailed in family life, as both were part of the wedding arrangement.[88] Long after the war individuals in Melnik/Meleniko practiced a marital strategy that entailed the transfer of property from the Greek wife to her husband in exchange for speaking Greek in the family.[89]Although, publicly, Bulgarian men were supposed to act as guardians of the nation and indoctrinate their children with Bulgarian ideals, private marital arrangements limited the influence of nationalist propaganda and maintained Greek cultural traditions.

Because women were the carriers and transmitters of tradition within the family, mixed marriages tended to preserve the Greek cultural heritage, which also explains the survival of the Greek language in private matters and informal social networks. Strong family traditions, which were as influential on the thinking of individuals as education and national propaganda, helped preserve the Greek language as a cultural marker of the population. Moreover, many Bulgarians tangibly benefited from the economic status and social connections of their Greek relatives and were willing to make concessions in their domestic life.[90] The 1926 census showed a divergence between the 12,782 individuals who declared Greek as their "mother tongue" and the 10,861 persons who declared to be of Greek "nationality." That roughly one-sixth of the Greek speakers did not declare Greek nationality confirms that, beyond preserving their language as a sign of tradition

85. Apostolidis, *Voulgaroi i Ellines isan oi Kariotai?,* 43, describes wedding sponsorship among the Kavakli Greeks.

86. TsDA, f. 719k, op. 24, a.e. 631, 624, 632, 710. Annulment of three declarations for emigration in Bania and Ortakeuy. In all three cases, Bulgarian refugees married Greek women and resided with their in-laws.

87. Diamandopoulos, *I Anchialos,* 136; Kotzageorgi, *Oi ellines tis Voulgarias,* 168.

88. Mavrommatis, *I astiki kai agrotiki zoi,* 268–269.

89. Vâlchinova and Ganeva, "Melnik," refers to data from Plovdiv/Philippoupolis, Sozopol/Sozoupolis, and Melnik/Meleniko.

90. For Greek women in Plovdiv/Philippoupolis, see K. Mirtilos Apostolidis, "Ta aitia kai i istoria tis teleias exontoseos tou ellinikou ithagenous stoicheiou en te ti voreio Thraki (Anatoliki Romilia) kai allachou tou neou Voulgarikou kratous," *ATLGT* 13 (1946–47): 73.

and a tool of social interaction, many individuals were reluctant to officially assert their nationality.[91] Instead, daily concerns created conditions for coexistence between Bulgarians and Greeks who considered local allegiances, economic ties, family strategies, and social networks more important than nationality.

The lack of national activism among the Greeks was certainly to be expected in the aftermath of emigration. The most passionate Greek nationalists had left under the Convention for Emigration and, with the exception of Greek diplomats, there were no leaders that could organize the population on a national principle. In addition, facing constant pressures from Bulgarian nationalists, the Greeks preferred to see themselves as "local inhabitants [*korenni zhiteli*]... and former members of the former Greek community" who wanted to be peaceful citizens of the Bulgarian state "regardless of nationality."[92] The population adopted a nonpolitical and, to a large degree, de-nationalized ethnic identity associated with language, culture, and family upbringing, but without the national focus of the 1900s or the early 1920s. In this context, it was perhaps ironic that, while their relatives in Greece suffered in their struggle for socioeconomic integration, the Greeks in Bulgaria thrived economically and socially. Though marginalized in the national sphere, at the community level the Greeks silently adapted and prospered through their prominence in economic activities and social networks. As a compromise, they accepted a less visible role on the national scene, but they managed to preserve their most important ethnic characteristic, language, as a marker of cultural distinction.

People in Doubt

A third group of Greeks provided an even sharper example of the complex predicament of people caught between the competing national interests of Bulgaria and Greece. These were individuals who, in the early 1920s, felt threatened as members of a nationally defined group and, wishing to escape the turmoil in Bulgaria, filed declarations for emigration, expressing their desire to relocate to Greece, but then, in the mid- to late-1920s, they withdrew their statements and remained in Bulgaria. First and foremost in the minds of these individuals were personal considerations, as emigration split up families, depleted fortunes, or created financial disputes. Despite the unstable situation in Bulgaria in the late 1920s, individual choice remained an option for these people in doubt, who often used legal loopholes related to nationality and citizenship to pursue their personal and family strategies. An examination of their situations allows a glimpse into the mind-set of those who were aware of their fragile status but continued to negotiate with

91. Kotzageorgi, *Oi Ellines tis Voulgarias*, 216.

92. TsDA, f. 719k, op. 26, a.e. 2, ll. 49–51. Protocol of a meeting in Varna, 22 January 1928.

officials regarding their rights and obligations as Bulgarian citizens. This was a struggle between ordinary people and authorities over who could claim membership in Bulgarian society and who was eligible to belong to the community of Bulgarian citizens.

Provisions in the Convention for Emigration allowed candidate-emigrants to withdraw their declarations as a safeguard against forced migration. One statistic from July 1925 indicates that 113 Greeks (and their families) had withdrawn their declarations before the deadline of 31 December 1924 and some 6 after that, but these numbers are incomplete as people continued to file requests for an annulment long after that.[93] In 1925 some 159 families from the area of Biala/Aspros near Varna withdrew their declarations for emigration, and another 75 awaited the decision of the Mixed Commission, suggesting that the number of annulments sought was larger.[94] After the deadline expired, Bulgarian authorities often showed leniency in the withdrawal process, but they encountered opposition from the Greek representative in the Mixed Commission who had received instructions to allow no late withdrawals.[95] According to the records of the Greco-Bulgarian Mixed Commission, candidate-emigrants filed requests for withdrawal as late as 1929, showing that people continued to seek ways to reverse a decision that sealed the fate of their families.

The administrative ordeal of individuals trying to withdraw their declarations was remarkable. In a two-year period Aleksandâr Hrisov (Alexandros Chrisos) from Mesemvria tried to annul his declaration five times while the specter of deportation hung over his head. Hrisov first filed a request for withdrawal on 25 December 1924, six days before the deadline. Despite a note on 31 March 1925 that the Mixed Commission expected to annul his declaration shortly, on 20 March 1926 officials decided that he continued to be a candidate-emigrant. This decision triggered two requests, dated 10 and 16 May, which emphasized that Hrisov had filed his withdrawal in compliance with the Convention. Yet the administrative machine had been set in motion, and on 18 May the mayor of Mesemvria refused to pay his pension. The fourth petition of the desperate retiree from 21 June included the reminder that he had observed all legal deadlines and pleaded: "I beg you, what would Bulgaria or Greece benefit from my relocation? I am a seventy-year-old man with an old and disabled wife. I have served my fatherland as a public servant for thirty six years and I cover my expenses with my modest pension. For Bulgaria to discard me now . . . is more than a mistake. And what will Greece benefit from me when I have no property? You should see, Mister Chairman, the senseless relocation of a person like

93. TsDA, f. 719k, op. 21. a.e. 744, l. 5. A list of declarations for withdrawal filed with the MC before 29 July 1925.

94. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 12, a.e. 33, ll. 139–140a. MC to MVRI, 17 March 1925. Thirty Greeks from Stanimaka/Stenimachos also failed to annul their declarations in 1929. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 22, a.e 217, l. 76. MC to MVRI, 9 July 1929.

95. TsDA, f. 719k, op. 7, a.e. 247, l. 1. Memo of Bulg. rep., 20 July 1928.

me. . . . Please allow me to spend my last days in peace and quiet here in Bulgaria." On 16 July Hrisov filed his fifth request, accompanied by paperwork confirming that he only possessed a small vineyard, which had been given to refugees who had later vacated it. Finally, on 29 July 1926, the Mixed Commission notified Hrisov as well as the mayor of Mesemvria that he "could remain in Bulgaria, enjoying all the rights of a Bulgarian citizen." After endless paperwork and years of anxious waiting, Hrisov was cleared to stay in Bulgaria.[96]

The Bulgarian representatives in the Mixed Commission considered several factors when they received a request for withdrawal: the applicant's marital status, his or her occupation, and whether his or her properties were allocated for refugee settlement. Local authorities had to certify an applicant's "trustworthiness" (*blagonadezhdnost*) by confirming that he or she was a "desired and loved member of the county."[97] These requirements triggered frantic activity, as individuals attempted to supply certificates from the mayor or police chief in their locality. Personal connections and family networks played an important role in the process, because there were interest groups, especially among the Bulgarian refugees, who pushed for the emigration of the Greeks. One helpful factor was the usefulness of the petitioner's occupation. The oyster fisherman Andonaki Theophilou (Andon Teofilov) supplied paperwork from the mayor's offices in Anhialo/Anchialos, Mesemvria, and the nearby village of Giozeken; each office certified that the petitioner owned the only motorized sailboat in the area and was extremely helpful in transporting goods and people between their localities.[98] But officials were not always prompt in their responses. Stranded individuals and members of the Mixed Commission regularly reminded them to submit the paperwork or respond to a query within the deadline.[99]

People's motivations for withdrawing their declarations varied. Individuals often claimed that "interested and reckless people," "untrue rumors," "the general trend," or "the unsettled state of the emigration enterprise" had influenced their decision, reminding authorities of the hectic days of refugee unrest in the early 1920s.[100] Some admitted "misjudgment," "delusion," "unwise behavior," or "an unforgivable mistake." One petitioner pointed

96. TsDA, f. 719k, op. 24, a.e. 685. Correspondence related to the annulment of the declaration for emigration of Aleksandâr Hrisov from Mesemvria. Each annulment request constitutes a single archival file and contains various documents, such as the original declarations for emigration and property liquidation, the annulment request, and various supporting materials. Thereafter I cite the archival file number for each individual and provide full citation only if referring to a specific document.

97. TsDA, f. 719k, op. 24, a.e. 686, l. 10; TsDA, f. 719k, op. 24, a.e. 684, l. 3. Certificates issued by the Mesemvria municipal authorities on 31 July and 11 August 1926.

98. TsDA, f. 719k, op. 24, a.e. 684.

99. TsDA, f. 719k, op. 24, a.e. 672, l. 34. MC to the mayor of Kuklen/Kouklaina concerning seven prospective emigrants.

100. TsDA, f. 719k, op. 24, a.e. 684, 688, 692, 696. Annulment of the declarations of Andonaki Theophilou, Nikola Vasilev Pilich, and Skuli Stefanov from Mesemvria and Atanas Mamalev from Muradanli.

out that he had submitted his declaration "in a state of mental commotion," and another explained that he had been "in an intoxicated state."[101] By and large, people felt that they had the right to withdraw their declarations "because the Convention . . . [wa]s for voluntary emigration . . . [and] no one would wish to strip an honest and trustworthy citizen of the chance to reside in the country where he had been born."[102] Only after repeated negative responses from the Mixed Commission did they pen petitions describing their unusual circumstances, detailing the urgency of their situation, and elaborating on their personal stories.

People showed a sense of practicality when deciding for or against emigration, and some changed their minds many times. Shterio Todomanov from Biala/Aspros submitted a declaration for emigration in 1923 but withdrew it after he "went to see the settlement sites [in Greece] and did not approve of them."[103] In April 1925 Manol Skordaki from Bania requested clearance to export to Greece seven hundred kilograms of foodstuffs and grains, two chests of clothing, cooking utensils, fabrics, wool, agricultural tools, as well as four cows, forty four goats, and seventy nine sheep, suggesting that he was ready to depart immediately. But two month later, now under the name of Manol Ianakev, he indicated that he wanted to stay in Bulgaria and continued his legal battle with authorities until 1927.[104] Skuli Stefanov from Mesemvria navigated the system for two years; he withdrew his declaration in December 1924, requested to be reconsidered as a candidate-emigrant in April 1925, withdrew his declaration a second time in December 1925, and finalized his withdrawal in December 1926.[105] Some individuals clearly tried to manipulate clauses of the Convention to enhance their chances of remaining in Bulgaria. Eleni Matas from Sofia had submitted a declaration for emigration in 1924, but when in 1926 she decided to stay in Bulgaria, she notified the authorities that she was a Greek citizen, and not a Bulgarian as she had initially indicated, which disqualified her from filing a declaration under the Convention and allowed her to keep her three homes.[106]

Property questions were at the core of people's struggles with authorities and other members of their communities or families. Once the Greeks submitted declarations for emigration, Bulgarian officials were allowed to quarter refugees on their estates. Not surprisingly Bulgarian refugees vehemently protested decisions to return the properties of former Greek candidate-emigrants.[107] Joint property cases appeared especially complex

101. TsDA, f. 719k, op. 24, a.e. 690, 704, 686. Annulment of the declarations of Ekaterina Iakumieva, Ianaki Verani, and Georgi Shishmanidi from Mesemvria.

102. TsDA, f. 719k, op. 24, a.e. 632, l. 22. Declaration of Dimitâr Kanara from Burgas/Pirgos from 10 October 1925.

103. TsDA, f. 719k, op. 24, a.e. 642.

104. TsDA, f. 719k, op. 24, a.e. 624 and 632.

105. TsDA, f. 719k, op. 24, a.e. 696.

106. TsDA, f. 719k, op. 24, a.e. 720.

107. TsDA, f. 719k, op. 24, a.e. 632, ll. 31–32. Petition from refugees in Mesemvria.

because Bulgarian co-owners blocked the liquidation or sale of assets that they possessed together with Greeks, undercutting the financial arrangements of potential emigrants.[108] Controversies also existed within families; relatives who remained in Bulgaria complained that candidate-emigrants had declared properties that the relatives were meant to inherit.[109] Property evaluations became extremely difficult when large families with vast fortunes split, such as the Dionisiadis clan who in 1928 had three members in Varna, two in Burgas/Pirgos, two in Istanbul, and one each in Athens, Piraeus, and Belgrade.[110]

"Family reasons" was the most frequent explanation for withdrawing one's declaration for emigration especially when family tragedies compelled people to seek changes. The fisherman Nikola Pilich from Mesemvria pleaded with authorities because his wife and child were "weak and disabled" and "if [my child] goes to a malarial place [in Greece] he will die."[111] Manol Ianakev from Bania explained that, because his wife was mentally sick and unable to look after their small children, "a departure to Greece would equal [our] bankruptcy."[112] Old people who relied on their children for care faced dilemmas when their offspring stayed in Bulgaria. The seventy-five-year-old Filalit Stefanov from Mesemvria explained that, "all my children, without exception, have remained in Bulgaria, and under these circumstances it would be very difficult for me to wander unwanted and undesired [*nemil nedrag*] in a foreign country, away from my children and at such an advanced age."[113] Gramen Todorov from Ortakeuy similarly declared that, because his daughter and son have chosen to remain in Bulgaria, "resettlement to Greece equals death by starvation for me and my wife."[114]

Personal reasons eclipsed other factors, as a marriage to a Bulgarian could change the dynamics within a family. Greek women often married Bulgarians and even Bulgarian refugees, which confirms that contacts between the two communities continued after the arrival of the newcomers. In these cases Greek women often stayed in Bulgaria, together with their parents, and their brothers left for Greece. The eighty-year-old Kostadin Kakana from Bania explained that he had withdrawn his declaration after his daughter, Asaniio, had married a Bulgarian refugee. Because he and his wife, "unable to work, expect our only offspring to look after us," Kakana provided shelter to the new family and transferred his properties to his son-in-law in exchange for care. Meanwhile his own son had already departed for Greece after unsuccessfully trying to withdraw his declaration.

108. TsDA, f. 719k, op. 24, a.e. 704, 730. Annulment of the declaration of Ianaki Verani from Burgas/Pirgos and Dimo Gadidov from Urum-eni-kioï.

109. TsDA, f. 719k, op. 24, a.e. 697, l. 7. Annulment of the declaration of Smaragda Teofilova from Mesemvria.

110. TsDA, f. 719k, op. 7, a.e. 247, l. 273. Memo of Bulg. rep., 31 May 1928.

111. TsDA, f. 719k, op. 24, a.e. 692.

112. TsDA, f. 719k, op. 24, a.e. 624, 632.

113. TsDA, f. 719k, op. 24, a.e. 699.

114. TsDA, f. 719k, op. 24, a.e. 710.

Through his daughter's marriage, Kakana escaped having refugees quartered on his lands, and his son-in-law accepted the common Greek practice of residing with his wife's parents as part of a dowry agreement.[115] In other cases female relatives provided legitimacy for requests to withdraw declarations. The eighty-year-old Ivan Masrafchi from Kuklen/Kouklaina claimed: "My daughter is married to a Bulgarian, and this fact confirms that I am a Bulgarian, too." Ignoring official classifications that linked nationality to paternal origins, the man depicted his daughter's choice of a spouse as the main reason why he wanted to stay in Bulgaria.[116] Such cases underscored the importance of women in the decisions affecting the family, but they also revealed that the relations among Greeks, local Bulgarians, and Bulgarian refugees were not at rigid as nationalists portrayed them.

Mixed marriages, however, also meant that Bulgarians who married into Greek families had to navigate the decisions of their Greek kin. Some Bulgarians resettled to Greece with their relatives, whereas others tried to persuade their spouses and in-laws to stay put. Zafir Palapeshkov from Anhialo/Anchialos claimed that he was of Bulgarian and not Greek nationality, as he had previously certified in his declaration for emigration. The municipal authorities explained that during the 1920 census he had declared that he was Greek, but that was untrue "because his father was Bulgarian and his mother Greek." Zafir's entire paternal family "did not speak a word of Greek," but his father, Stavri, had married a Greek woman when he arrived in Anhialo/Anchialos as a young man. Zafir was also married to a Greek, and when her relatives submitted declarations, "unable to prevail" on her to stay, Zafir agreed to emigrate and declared to be a Greek national.[117] This case highlights the strong Greek family ties that shaped the decision to emigrate and confirms the flexible understanding of nationality that allowed Greek families to absorb Bulgarian members.

Overall, most declaration withdrawals emphasized the personal circumstances of individuals, whereas petitions to authorities alluded to the right of lawful citizens to choose their country of residence. Officials had a markedly hands-on attitude in accepting or rejecting such requests, primarily taking into consideration the potential usefulness of individuals for their respective communities. The majority of these requests, if submitted in a timely manner and following the procedures, were successful because the rules of the Convention for Emigration allowed the reversals. Further, realizing that ordinary people did not understand all the minutia of the Convention, local officials generally showed good will in facilitating individuals who either posed no risk or benefited their community. Representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs or the Mixed Commission also respected the patronage of

115. TsDA, f. 719k, op. 24, a.e. 631. See also the cases of Manol Skordaki from Bania and Gramen Tomov from Ortakeuy whose children married Bulgarians (TsDA, f. 719k, op. 24, a.e. 624, 632, 710).

116. TsDA, f. 719k, op. 24, a.e. 672.

117. TsDA, f. 719k, op. 24, a.e. 623.

local power figures.[118] It is remarkable that, given the nationalist atmosphere in the country and the pressure of refugee organizations at the local level, most petitioners won their plight to stay in Bulgaria.[119] In contrast to other eastern European cases, where state rights tended to obfuscate individual rights, in the Bulgarian case the Greek populations continued to enjoy a degree of autonomy that guaranteed their individual rights. There seemed to be a wide discretion of how the rules were implemented, for, despite the bureaucratic mess, people had numerous chances to submit new paperwork and prove their case. Whether officials showed permissiveness or perhaps oversight is unclear, but loopholes in the legal framework and confusion in the bureaucratic machinery allowed individuals to navigate the system and promote their personal strategies.

Speaking National

Not all annulment cases had a positive outcome, and some individuals had to resettle in Greece despite numerous attempts to withdraw their declarations. In 1927 Iani Fuchedzhi from Stanimaka/Stenimachos requested to remain in one of the rooms in his house, now occupied by refugees, until he arranged to stay with his daughters who had decided against emigration. However, Fuchedzhi had not only failed to withdraw his declaration but had already received the funds for his liquidated properties. The Bulgarian representative in the Mixed Commission showed some sympathy, suggesting to the illiterate man to find "a more competent attorney." But the bureaucrat noted briefly on Fuchedzhi's petition: "His property has been liquidated. The commission has no power to allow him to remain in his house or in Bulgaria for that matter," sealing the fate of the seventy-four-year-old man.[120] When candidate-emigrants failed to depart as expected, police officers escorted them to the border, as occurred in the case of Kostadin Paskalev from Kosti who, in 1928, requested to remain in Bulgaria because he had married a Bulgarian woman who already had two young children and who was expecting a new baby shortly.[121] Most dramatically, after three years of administrative battles, in the summer of 1928, seventy-five families from Biala/Aspros, unable to withdraw their declarations, embarked on a ship sent by the Greek government to take them to Salonica.[122]

Under these circumstances, trying to escape the looming tragedy of deportation, individuals searched for new ways to reverse administrative

118. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 22, a.e. 186, l. 372. Memo of Bulg. rep., 1 June 1926.

119. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 12, a.e. 33, l. 283. The Thracian Organization to MVRI, 26 October 1925.

120. TsDA, f. 719k, op. 21, a.e. 594, ll. 5 and 17. Correspondence regarding Iani Fuchedzhi from Stanimaka/Stenimachos, 4 August 1926 and 1 July 1927.

121. TsDA, f. 719k, op. 7, a.e. 247, ll. 39, 63, 66.

122. IAIE, 1933, A/6/Va. Gr. rep. to IE, 26 April 1929; and EPV to IE, 19 and 22 June 1928.

decisions that classified them as emigrants. Once all legal remedies were exhausted, people penned heartfelt petitions to the central authorities, either the Bulgarian representative in the Mixed Commission, the prime minister, or King Boris III, passionately affirming their national loyalty as a strategy to win their case. In these desperate situations, individuals felt compelled to "speak national," using the discourse of the nation and the language of Bulgarian origins as an emergency identity for resolving their urgent problems. The petitions typically used the primordial language of an immemorial and stable nation that structured all aspects of individuals' lives, but they also embraced constructionist ideas that people's national loyalties could be molded and perfected. Individuals invariably referred to themselves as "good citizens" and as "complying with the rules of the nation." In this sense the petitions functioned as scripts transmitting requests that authorities could quickly read, grasp, and address. The statements adopted the passionate rhetoric of "good Bulgarians" who met the expectations of the bureaucracy, while at the same time they served as "evidence of the 'national truth'" of the supplicants.[123] But even when exuding desperation or suggesting submission, the writings created a space for agency by reminding officials that people had the right to speak and debate their situations with officials.[124] While employing national clichés, people implied their authority to establish a dialogue with bureaucrats and be acknowledged as parties in a two-way conversation, referring to the mutual obligations of states and citizens.

Some 159 families from Biala/Aspros, Hodzha Kioĭ (today Popovich), and Kuru Kioĭ (today Goritsa) south of Varna tried to withdraw their declarations for emigration in 1925.[125] Addressing their request to King Boris, they tried to show that they were good Bulgarians and loyal citizens who deserved a second chance after making a fatal mistake:

> Lured, cheated and bullied by treacherous elements—paid agents of the Greek government, who threatened us, persecuted us, terrorized us—we were forced to file declarations for emigration. . . . Mother Bulgaria is our mother, too. Our predecessors were born here and we were born here, too. We fought for her [in the wars] and we lost our dear loved ones in the unknown fields of honor. . . . Many of us adorn our chests with crosses of honor, which we received in the [wars] . . . We are good soldiers in the fields of honor and we are good workers in the fields of labor. Whoever has visited our beautiful Black Sea region has admired these thriving lands that have acquired such beauty under our laboring hands. . . . We do not want to leave

123. Cowan, "Fixing National Subjects," 348.

124. For an analysis of petitions submitted to the League of Nations, see Cowan, "Who's Afraid of Violent Language?" 273.

125. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 12, a.e. 33, ll. 139–140a. The Emigration Sub-commission in Sofia to MVRI, 17 March 1925.

> our country, in which we were born and to which we have paid our blood and obligations; these lands, which are more beautiful than any other, in which happiness has been more than sorrow.[126]

The supplicants displayed their loyalty to the Bulgarian national community, revealing the willingness of professed Greeks to publicly denounce their prior affiliations and "become" Bulgarians. The appeal provided all possible proof of loyalty to the Bulgarian nation that the petitioners could muster and stressed the concrete, tangible contributions they made to Bulgarian welfare. It charted the emotional image of people wholeheartedly devoted to their native land, a strategy that demonstrated their deep-seated feelings toward Bulgaria but also was a reminder that, as loyal citizens, they retained certain rights.

Petitions reveal a relatively stable understanding of what allowed one to claim loyalty to Bulgaria. Individuals often reminded authorities that, because the population exchange between Bulgaria and Greece was voluntary, they had the right to change their mind and make the choice that best suited their situations. They then proceeded with a prose that marshaled the language of origin, kinship, and belonging, emphasizing their right to choose which national community they should belong to. The discourse of origins, alluding to the uncontested right of individuals to reside in their ancestral land, was evident in all petitions. Ianko Dalakov, from Malâk Boialâk/Mikro Boialiki near Kavakli, explained his predicament:

> Where can I go without the people who are closest to me by blood and heart? Absolutely nowhere. . . . I was born in mother Bulgaria; I have grown up here; I have served my military service as a good Bulgarian; I have fulfilled and fulfill all my duties as a Bulgarian and I wish always to remain as such. . . . Ever since I filed the fatal declaration for resettlement, vicious nightmares have tortured my soul, and [I wish] I could shout again, as I did with the combat comrades in the national army, "Long live mother Bulgaria!"[127]

Members of the Verani family from Burgas/Pirgos who "have lived in Bulgaria since unknown times," requested "to be allowed to live and die in our only fatherland, Bulgaria." The petitioners underscored the voluntary nature of the population swap and explained that their desire was "humane and clearly legitimate: we want to be left to live in our native land, Bulgaria, for whose defense we paid our duties with blood during the wars."[128] Skuli

126. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 22, a.e. 186, ll. 136–138. Inhabitants from Biala, Hodzha-kioĭ, and Kuru-kioĭ to His Majesty the King of the Bulgarians, 24 December 1925.

127. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 22, a.e. 186, l. 306. Ianko Dalakov from Malâk Boialâk to MC, 1 March 1926.

128. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 22, a.e. 186, ll. 370–371. Iani, Vasil, and Hrisopa Verani and Ekaterina Iakomueva from Burgas to MC, 14 April 1926.

Stefanov, from Mesemvria, similarly admitted his mistake but emphasized his contributions to the Bulgarian community:

> I grasp my colossal mistake now that I have to leave my fatherland [*otechestvo*]—the country where I was born and grew up, where I served as a soldier for so long during the two wars, [the country] whose well-being I have always had in mind. . . . My children have finished their . . . education here in Bulgaria, they have not submitted declarations, and such an intention has never crossed their minds. . . . [I want to] stay and live in Bulgaria—my native place [*rodnoto mi miasto*] . . . where my predecessors were born, lived, and died, and whose memories and graves I cannot abandon.[129]

A statement on Stefanov's behalf from the mayor repeated the above arguments, confirming that such writings deployed a well-worn script of social interaction. The mayor reiterated that the petitioner "participated in the two wars and fought with us shoulder to shoulder for the freedom of our enslaved brothers and for the preservation of our dear motherland, all while Bulgarian blood flows in his veins. . . . Let him stay at his father's hearth and with his children."[130]

Despite the desperate tone of these petitions, which served to convey the urgency of the request, people also invoked their civil right to remain in the country. In fact, there were certain qualities that allowed people to claim privileges as citizens. The "objective" criteria that buttressed one's claims to rights were the individual's origins, military service, and prompt payment of taxes and other obligations. "Subjective" features could also support one's claims, such as a sincere belief in the national community and a willingness to express national loyalty publicly and actively. The passionate prose sought to affirm an individual's conviction and sincere desire to work for the betterment of his or her country.

Andon Teofilov, an "old fisherman" from Mesemvria, focused on the concept of "native land" (*roden kraĭ*) to prove his loyalty. He considered the "blue waters of our Black Sea" to be his homeland and asked to be allowed to stay in Bulgaria, because "in the course of fifty eight years I have created a lot with labor and forethought and [if deported] I will have to build happiness and livelihood in a new place [*novo miasto*]." Instead of embracing the prose of a primordial nation, this petitioner chose as his rhetorical strategy the contrast between the familiar, caring native place and the unfamiliar, hostile environment in the other country. The fisherman emphatically pointed out that he had "the honor of fulfilling my duty to the fatherland [*otechestven dâlg*]," referring to his military service and

129. TsDA, f. 719k, op. 21, a.e. 696, ll. 64–65. Skuli Stefanov from Mesemvria to MC, 10 December 1925.

130. Ibid.

pointing out that he had met his part of the social contract between states and citizens.[131]

Similarly Aleksandâr Hrisov from Mesemvria noted that "in Bulgaria I lived the best days of my life," and went on to explain: "I have been treated equally, always and in everything, with all other citizens of the country, and I have never felt the slightest desire to complain." Expressing desire to "die in the land where I have the biggest treasure on earth—my children," the petitioner established a link with his children, the new generation of loyal Bulgarians and guardians of the country's future.[132] In general, all petitions alluded to daily life and peaceful allegiance to their native home to prove the supplicant's loyalty to the country and its laws but also to remind the state of its obligations to its citizens.

The three Dalukovi brothers from Krumovo near Iambol who faced deportation seemed to have mastered all the requirements for being good Bulgarians. By embracing the rhetoric of origins, kinship, and civil rights, they passionately explained their rights as Bulgarian citizens:

> Since ancient times, our predecessors have lived in [our village]. We were born in this village, too. All three of us brothers, as well as our parents and children, have always felt only like Bulgarians. Our children and we have been educated in Bulgarian schools; our maternal tongue has always been and still is only Bulgarian. Together with all Bulgarian citizens, we had the happiness of participating in the three wars of liberation . . . and, as true patriots, we experienced deprivation and showed heroism and loyalty to the fatherland. . . . Our wives, born Bulgarians, declared to us that, if we were forcibly deported, they would stay, together with our children, with their parents [in Bulgaria], because they preferred to sever their relations with us, their husbands, rather than with their motherland—Bulgaria. . . . Please save us! We are dying, we are being broken, because against our will we are being forced to relocate and we are being thrown into [the Greek] land, which we have never felt as our fatherland. We want nothing but the right of every citizen: . . . to live, work and die in Bulgaria, our only fatherland, which we would never stop loving, even if we are torn apart from it.[133]

Despite this proclaimed sincerity, the brothers had provided conflicting information about their nationality, confirming that they used the template of the petition to play the system. According to their village's vital records,

131. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 22, a.e. 186, l. 430. Andon Teofilov from Mesemvria to MC, 21 May 1926.

132. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 22, a.e. 186, ll. 427–428. Aleksandâr Hrisov from Mesemvria to MC, 22 May 1926.

133. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 22, a.e. 185, ll. 17–18. Georgi, Kolio and Hristo Petrovi Dalukovi from Krumovo to MC, 17 May 1926.

the Dalukovi family had registered as Greek before 1920 and as Bulgarian after that, and the Mixed Commission rejected their appeal.[134] This refusal triggered three identical petitions submitted by the wives of the expellees, in which they claimed to be "pure-blooded [*chistokrâvni*] Bulgarian[s], accustomed to Bulgarian norms and traditions." Because the women were illiterate, they obviously followed the advice of attorneys in boldly critiquing the Convention for Emigration as the best strategy for reversing the deportation orders. The three petitions agreed that the exchange "created more perfect human groups of nations [*po-pravilni choveshki grupirovki po natsii*]" but also emphasized that the Convention should not "exile and resettle, destroy and ruin foreigners [*inostrantsi*] like us who have lived [in Bulgaria] for centuries." The fact that illiterate people sought help from "experts" who knew official expectations well and signed petitions emphasizing their national loyalty reveals that the national rhetoric functioned as the language of social legitimacy and entitlement.[135]

A year later two of the three Dalukovi brothers continued their struggle with authorities with even blunter petitions explicitly stating what officials presumably wanted to hear. Georgi claimed: "I am a Bulgarian, I am married to a Bulgarian and neither my children nor I nor my wife know a word of Greek. What would happen to me and my entire family if I have to go [to Greece]?. . . As far as I know the law is for the voluntary resettlement of the minorities and not for a compulsory one." Kolio reiterated: "It would be one thing if at least we knew Greek or felt [Greek]. . . . [But] I am Bulgarian, I feel like one, and you should not forcibly send me anywhere because I am not guilty of anything to be punished with exile. . . . Please correct this mistake that will cost the lives of myself, my wife, and my innocent children."[136] Pointing out once again that the Convention provided only for voluntary emigration, the two brothers insisted that, as good Bulgarians who had fulfilled all their civic obligations, they had the right to continue their residence in the country they wished to associate with.

It is perhaps paradoxical that these petitions simultaneously portrayed the helplessness and desperation of individuals while asserting their rights and agency. In the pervasive nationalist atmosphere, when national activists wanted to sort out people and attach them to a single nation-state, "speaking national" was the best strategy for resolving people's impasse. It is unclear if this prose actually helped the petitioners because officials seemed to generally follow the rules of the Convention. Yet, the evocation of national loyalty and the establishment of links of origin functioned as discourses of

134. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 22, a.e. 185, l. 19. Memo of MVRI, 16 June 1926.

135. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 22, a.e. 185, ll. 21–23. Todora Dineva, Kana Dimitrova, and Elena Stoianova from Krumovo to MC. The dates of the petitions are unclear but they were processed on 23 June 1926; ibid., l. 30. Memo of MVRI, 2 July 1926, rejected these petitions.

136. TsDA, f. 719k, op. 21, a.e. 702, ll. 10, 20. Georgi Domukov and Kolio Domukov to MC, 24 October 1927. The surnames are spelled Domukov but the correspondence refers to the same individuals.

entitlement, as they allowed individuals to mend their broken relationship with the national bureaucracy. The straightforward expression of national allegiance became a vehicle of social mobility and a guarantee for peaceful everyday existence, since people knew that the government expected clear-cut national loyalty from its "good citizens." Individuals claimed all the attributes of good Bulgarians, but they also emphasized the responsibility of the state to accommodate its loyal citizens who complied with the existing rules of the country. Thus they consciously framed their claims within a discourse of upright national belonging, which would guarantee the attention of the bureaucrats and possibly the beneficial outcome of their requests.

The Rights of Citizens

The Greeks remaining in Bulgaria and those who emigrated to Greece each faced various challenges in two societies experiencing tremendous problems after the execution of the population exchange in 1923. But in the volatile context of the late 1920s, when the bureaucracies still chaotically implemented ad hoc decisions and cautiously worked to arrive at more permanent policies targeting their populations, people enjoyed a degree of autonomy in the way they interacted with authorities and structured their daily lives. This trend was in striking contrast to other eastern European countries, most notably the assumed poster child for democracy in the area, Czechoslovakia, where the focus on state prerogatives relentlessly obliterated the rights of minority individuals during the same time. In the Bulgarian case, the cautious nationalism adopted by the state allowed individual choice even to minorities that had been previously treated as the encapsulation of the "treacherous allies." The disagreement between the noisy and uncompromising rhetoric of nationalists and the more flexible and permissive policies of local and central authorities worked to the advantage of the remaining Greeks. While adapting to the nationalist atmosphere generated by refugee leaders, members of the minority communities found ways to ease their plight and promote their personal strategies. Ironically, making personal choices was less likely for the immigrants in Greece; although they immediately acquired Greek citizenship, they faced extremely strenuous circumstances in a country accommodating hundreds of thousands of destitute refugees. Nevertheless, the new citizens felt a sense of entitlement in negotiating with authorities, emphasizing that the Greek government had the responsibility to accommodate a population that it had lured to relocate under extremely unfavorable conditions. In both cases, individuals skillfully navigated the assumption that each citizen held responsibilities to the rest of society but also possessed rights to mold his or her relationship to the state.

This trend was clear in how the population handled the issue of citizenship. In the 1920s many Greeks in Bulgaria, though previously Bulgarian citizens, now switched to Greek citizenship because the Neuilly Peace Treaty contained clauses protecting persons holding Allied citizenship. Plovdiv/Philippoupolis,

Burgas/Pirgos, and Varna all possessed large communities of expatriate businessmen who held Greek or other European citizenship and enjoyed the protection of the diplomatic services.[137] But even Greeks born in Bulgaria considered the acceptance of Greek citizenship a good choice, despite the fact that it formally linked them to the Greek nation, because they focused on the practical gains that such decisions brought to their families.

The Bulgarian administration was acutely aware of the "maneuvering with citizenship," in which "everyone determines his citizenship according to his interest."[138] Officials regularly expressed frustration that individuals of Greek origin changed their citizenship because of regulations regarding emigration, provisions in the Labor Service Law, loopholes in property-ownership rules, or regulations concerning taxes and dues. In 1924 Burgas/Pirgos district authorities reported that local Greeks "when needing papers that indicate they are Bulgarian citizens, frequently prove their status with documents that testify to their having served in the military, something that applies to Bulgarian citizens . . . and insist they be given the papers. . . . On the contrary, when they are asked to pay their dues as Bulgarian citizens, they go to the Greek Consulate here, which immediately issues a certificate showing that they are enrolled in its records as Greek citizens."[139] Despite their awareness of such behavior, officials, in the 1920s, failed to effectively control the behavior of the population. Many Greeks switched from Bulgarian to Greek citizenship to evade the compulsory labor service, which the Stamboliĭski government instituted in June 1920. Real estate owners became Greek citizens to avoid having their properties seized for the purpose of settling refugees. The acquisition of Greek citizenship also benefited Greek landowners in the early 1920s, when the government started its land reform and expropriated large land estates.[140] In 1926 more than a quarter of the Greeks in Bulgarian territory were Greek citizens.[141]

This practical attitude toward citizenship was also true for the Greeks who had left Bulgaria. After the Greek Army was mobilized against the Ottoman Empire in 1921, many Bulgarian Greeks currently in Greece applied for Bulgarian citizenship to avoid the draft, triggering a Bulgarian diplomat to remark, half-jokingly: "The Bulgarian citizens in Athens have reached such a number that one would think this is Sofia." Such "citizens of the sweet waters," as an American diplomat called them, had a markedly opportunistic attitude to citizenship, willfully manipulating the constantly

137. IAIE, 1925, G/63.5. MC member Xanthos to IE, 4 December 1925.

138. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 12, a.e. 91, l. 3. The Burgas City Office to MVRI, 6 June 1923; TsDA, f. 176k, op. 12, a.e. 112, l. 19. The Plovdiv City Office to MVRI, 25 December 1925.

139. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 12, a.e. 17, l. 162. The Burgas City Office to MVRI, 7 June 1924.

140. TsDA, f. 176k, op.26, a.e. 36; TsDA, f. 176k, op. 9. a.e. 1543; TsDA, f. 176k, op. 12, a.e. 91–93, 112, 114, 345, 227, 228. Applications for Greek citizenship; IAIE, 1921, 11.5. Military attaché to IE, 3 December 1921.

141. The 1926 Bulgarian census documented 4,146 Greek citizens and 10,861 Greeks by nationality. See Kotzageorgi, *Oi Ellines tis Voulgarias,* 216.

changing provisions in the two countries.[142] Even the implementation of the Convention for Emigration, which automatically stripped all Greek emigrants from Bulgarian citizenship, did not eclipse the phenomenon of exploiting the loopholes of citizenship rules. In the late 1920s Greeks who had filed declarations for emigration in the early 1920s as Bulgarian citizens now returned to Bulgaria and resumed their businesses as Greek citizens.[143]

People actively sought to attune their relationship to the state and did not allow the bureaucracy alone to dictate the terms of their engagement. Practical considerations such as economic interests, social connections, or family obligations generally continued to guide the actions of individuals when choosing their place of residence and in their interactions with authorities. This tendency explains why residency and citizenship, not nationality and ethnicity, were seen as the most important markers of social membership. The immigrants in Greece, treated as "outsiders" and "strangers at home," were constantly negotiating with authorities their prerogative, as Greek citizens inhabiting the Greek nation-state, to enjoy equal political and socioeconomic rights. If they ever asserted their nationality, it was to emphasize that they had the same privileges enjoyed by all other legal residents of the Greek state. Even the Greeks remaining in Bulgaria, despite having been singled out as a foreign minority, primarily saw themselves as Bulgarian residents who had certain obligations but also enjoyed specific rights arising from their citizenship. Because citizenship could signify both nationality and residency, people selectively chose how to define their membership in society. Being a Bulgarian "subject" did not necessarily mean that one was a Bulgarian "national," so people did not feel that they had to commit to being citizens of a nation but preferred to see themselves as citizens of the state of their choice. Similarly, the central authorities did not prioritize national factors in their judgments but took a practical stance as to who could remain a part of the Bulgarian community of citizens. This ability to maneuver notions of citizenship and belonging did not remain constant and, in contrast to the 1920s, the 1930s saw a tightening of the legal requirements enforced by the state. In the late 1920s, however, people adhered to less nation-centered notions of social inclusion that guaranteed their right of membership in a community of citizens.

142. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 9, a.e. 1543, l. 3. BLA to MVRI, 1 April 1921.
143. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 22, a.e 217, ll. 69–70. MVRNZ to MVRI, 21 April 1929.

6

People on the Margins, 1931–1941

In 1934 a scandal erupted in Anhialo/Anchialos, soon to be renamed Pomorie, in connection with a directive issued by the county police chief prohibiting the use of "foreign languages, especially Greek and Turkish, in all state, county, and public offices," as well as "at the port, the [railway] station, workers' storage facilities, coffeehouses, pubs, hotels, motels, factories, and on the streets." Disseminating the decree through messengers and posting it on public buildings, the chief argued that speaking foreign languages "undermine[d] the national feeling of every Bulgarian . . . [and] g[ave] reasons to think that Anhialo and its district were a foreign province that d[id] not belong to the Kingdom of Bulgaria." This decision, however, triggered the steadfast objection of Greek diplomats and the firm intervention of the Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which revoked the decree.[1] Nevertheless, in a subsequent declaration, the police chief opined that, "the Greeks . . . own the best facilities [in town] and form an affluent circle, they separate themselves [from the Bulgarians] and impose their language." He was indignant that the minority populations "do not respect the language spoken in Bulgaria, and [one wonders,] is this Bulgaria or Hellas?" The officer reasoned that, "in their homes, [the Greeks] can speak whatever language they want," but he insisted that publicly, in the market place, public offices, and entertainment centers, Bulgarian should be the official language, except for old people who never learned Bulgarian. The police chief denied that he had ever fined or physically harassed any inhabitant of Anhialo/Anchialos who refused to speak Bulgarian. But he bluntly

1. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 22, a.e. 355, ll. 1, 3–4. Directives of the Anhialo County Chief, 11 and 21 June 1934; Memo of MVRI, 21 June 1934; and IAIE, 1934, A/6/I/2. Correspondence of EPP, EPS, and Burgas District authorities, June and July 1934.

justified the language restriction, stating that he had issued his directive because "we have eyes but we cannot see, we have ears but we cannot hear, because we don't understand the [Greeks] and cannot fulfill the goal of policing." He claimed that his measure was only "an invitation" but insisted that the police authorities strictly enforce the policy "so that this region could finally be Bulgarized."[2]

The police chief's firm statement demonstrates that, in the 1930s, local officials continued to view the Greek population in their areas as a potentially dangerous foreign element. Local administrators often faced the objection of central authorities that carefully considered how local cases affected the international standing of the country. Yet a lasting change distinguished the 1930s from the 1920s: as a general trend, the successive Bulgarian governments enforced more uncompromising policies targeting the inhabitants of minority communities. Trying to render their populations visible and controllable, local officials perceived themselves as extensions of a nationalizing state that had made the national homogenization of problematic populations its top priority. When, in the 1930s, the central authorities came up with various policies regarding language, education, toponyms, and citizenship that targeted the more populous Muslim minorities, local officials in Greek localities extended these policies to the smaller Greek population. Taking in the national propaganda that the state machinery disseminated, the bureaucrats showed a steadfast conviction that they had a mission to safeguard Bulgarian interests in areas that they continued to treat as "foreign provinces." In contrast to the 1920s, when individuals had some flexibility adjusting at the local level according to their personal strategies, in the 1930s the state bureaucracy tightened its control over its populations.

Both Bulgaria and Greece, in the mid-1930s, saw the establishment of authoritarian regimes with dictatorial tendencies, under the leadership of King Boris III and Ioannis Metaxas, respectively; these regimes devised broader policies of political repression, social control, and national homogenization that affected the entire population of the two countries. This trend corresponded to parallel developments throughout Europe; whether in authoritarian countries like Italy and Germany or democratic states such as France and Czechoslovakia, policies were implemented that served state interests over individual rights.[3] The "étatisation" of citizens' interactions with authorities confirmed the state's increasingly assertive role in determining the criteria by which individuals would be treated as deserving citizens.[4] Though

2. DA-Burgas, f. 82k, op. 1, a.e. 45, ll. 72–73. Undated explanation of the Anhialo Police Chief.

3. For this trend, see Mark Mazower, *Dark Continent: Europe's Twentieth Century* (New York, 1999); Mary Lewis, *The Boundaries of the Republic: Migrant Rights and the Limit of Universalism in France, 1918–1940* (Stanford, 2007); and Zahra, *Kidnapped Souls*.

4. Emmanuelle Saada, *Les enfants de la colonie: les métis de l'Empire français entre sujétion et citoyenneté* (Paris, 2007). I thank Alice Conklin for referring me to this book. This trend agrees with James Scott's observations about the propensity of state bureaucracies during this period

this trend was clearly visible in Bulgaria and Greece, various contingencies affected the ability of the two states to monitor their populations and so their policies remained inconsistently applied. Despite the desired goal of homogenization and control, state officials still had to consider the needs and priorities of the actual populations on the ground and modify their policies accordingly. Yet, as war approached the Balkans in the late 1930s, the bureaucracies took advantage of national security concerns and enforced stricter measures against their populations. As the decade progressed, the lives of individuals became more insecure.

This change in the state's ability to control its population significantly affected the Greeks remaining in Bulgaria. As central authorities established policies to crack down on minorities' autonomy, local officials assumed the responsibility of representing "authority" (*vlastta*) in more assertive ways. Whereas in previous times regional power figures had handled the "foreigners" (*inorodtsi*) with some degree of permissiveness, they now erred on the side of caution and followed the imperatives of their governments with diligence. It was true that sometimes, fearing international repercussions, the central administration intervened to reign in local officials who were mindless of the broader implications of their actions, often reversing or fine-tuning their zealous implementation of nationalist measures. But any attempts at discretion disappeared as the specter of war descended on the Balkans and new security needs emerged in the late 1930s. In preparation for war, authorities abandoned their cautious nationalism and inconsistent minority policies of the previous period. Instead, officials used the administrative machine to enforce the relentless surveillance of populations that they saw as potentially dangerous to national security.[5]

The situation of the immigrants in Greece was less fragile, but the population still felt pressured to act according to state interests rather than individual rights. When the Mixed Commission ended its work in 1931, Greek officials considered that they had completed the process of accommodating their new citizens from Bulgaria. Yet the immigrants insisted that Greek society had abandoned them, and they castigated the administration for focusing exclusively on state interests. The immigrants from Bulgaria continued to feel like "national foreigners" in their nation-state, and so they asserted their own way of "being Greek." Because "belonging to a local community or group [wa]s the fundamental stepping-stone toward integration," local solidarity with one's co-villagers provided the population with the security of belonging to a group.[6] Still the immigrants lacked any real social bond to the Greek state, specifically, the possibility of participating in society in a fulfilling way or of being recognized within the state as equals.

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to make people "legible" and place them in a state-determined system of surveillance. See Scott, *Seeing Like a State.*

5. For a similar development in France in the late 1930s, see Lewis, *The Boundaries of the Republic,* 217.

6. Noiriel, *The French Melting Pot,* 276.

Despite pressures to submit to dominant modes of behavior, they entered the 1940s as a group with unsatisfied interests, in which socioeconomic factors eclipsed national considerations.

In the 1930s the minority in Bulgaria and the refugees in Greece remained on the margins, albeit in different ways. The overarching theme in the story of these two populations was their encounter with a bureaucracy that wished to create homogeneity and make its populations legible. This tendency showed the power of the state in charting relations with its citizens and allowing—or curbing—individual autonomy. If, in the 1920s, Greeks and Bulgarians alike took advantage of the ad hoc policies articulated locally, by the 1930s they felt more constricted in their choices and strategies. Tracing the plight of the Greeks on the two sides of the Bulgarian-Greek border and their interactions with state authorities, this chapter asks what the limits of human agency were when state interests overrode individual matters and when the bureaucracy took extreme measures to implement its national security concerns.

The Price of Relocation

In the late 1920s and throughout the 1930s the representatives of revisionist Bulgaria and pro–status quo Greece continued to uneasily negotiate their differences. The Bulgarian governments focused on revising the clauses of the Neuilly Treaty that undermined the sovereignty of the state, notably the reparations and military restrictions imposed on the country, but they also renewed their calls for comprehensive minority rights in the entire Balkan Peninsula. To counter these demands, Greek politicians pushed for the creation of the Balkan Pact, which brought together all Balkan countries in support of the status quo in 1934. In the mid-1930s there was a brief détente in Bulgarian-Greek relations, when the two countries signed a new trade agreement and initiated closer cultural contacts. The initiatives of the Bulgarian-Greek Associations established in both countries, which included many Greeks in and from Bulgaria, exemplified this cautious rapprochement that emphasized the common interests of good neighbors. But as the decade drew to a close, the interests of the two countries remained irreconcilable. In the late 1930s the regimes of Boris III and Ioannis Metaxas adopted ambiguous, noncommittal policies that filled Bulgarian-Greek relations with uncertainty and precluded permanent agreements on various issues affecting intergovernmental and individual interests alike.

In the late 1920s the Bulgarian and Greek governments and the Mixed Commission engaged in complex negotiations related to the "price tag" of the population exchange between the two countries. Experts continued their work in the Commission to liquidate, evaluate, and remunerate the immigrants for their abandoned properties, while the two governments sought an overall decision concerning their financial obligations. On 7 December 1927 the administrations of Alexandros Zaimis and Andreĭ Liapchev signed

the Mollov-Kaphandaris Agreement, which regulated the two countries' payments to their respective immigrants. In effect, Bulgaria and Greece offset their financial responsibilities to their former citizens who had emigrated through the Convention for Emigration. Because the number of Bulgarians who had abandoned Greece exceeded the number of Greeks who had left Bulgaria, the Zaimis administration agreed to pay to the Bulgarian state the difference in property values in monthly installments.[7] Bulgarian refugee associations welcomed this agreement, but the representatives of the Bulgarian Greeks were extremely dissatisfied, as this settlement essentially "erased" their properties' value from the Greek state's financial obligations.[8]

In responding to popular pressure, in the summer of 1928, the new administration of Elevtherios Venizelos linked the ratification of the Mollov-Kaphandaris Agreement to other pending issues between Bulgaria and Greece. As a result, both governments compiled lists of demands to be discussed in the Mixed Commission, including large property claims, wartime requisitions, wrongful drafts, and persecutions of citizens.[9] The Greek Parliament ratified the Mollov-Kaphandaris Agreement on 10 December 1928, but, given the unpopularity of the agreement in Greece, in 1929 Venizelos pursued a new strategy. He linked the Greek disbursements according to Mollov-Kaphandaris to the reparation payments that Bulgaria owed to Greece according to the Neuilly Treaty. Thus the two countries were pursuing conflicting objectives; the Bulgarian governments wanted to reduce and later cancel their reparation payments, something the Greek administrations resisted as their country was the main recipient of Bulgarian reparations.[10]

In the meantime the Mixed Commission continued its work, and by mid-1929 it had evaluated most individual property files and compensated the majority of the immigrants for their properties. It then moved to the hotly contested issues, such as compensation for the 1906 anti-Greek events in

7. Georgi V. Dimitrov, *Iliuzii i deĭstvitelnost. Sporove za prava i imoti na bâlgarite ot Egeĭska Makedoniia i Zapadna Trakiia, 1919–1931* (Blagoevgrad, 1996), 147–155; TsDA, f. 176k, op. 5, a.e. 419, 715. Files concerning the Mollov-Kaphandaris Agreement.

8. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 5, a.e. 717, ll. 28–29, 40. BLA to MVRI, 18 January and 2 February 1928; TsDA, f. 176k, op. 5, a.e. 715, ll. 15–16, 36. BLA to MVRI, 8 and 16 June and 23 July 1928.

9. The Greek demands consisted of Bulgaria's liability for the forests in the Rodopi/Rodopes Mountains and the salt mines of Anhialo/Anchialos that belonged to Greeks; damages to properties destroyed during the 1906 anti-Greek movement; and the wartime requisitions, drafts, and persecutions of Bulgarian Greeks. The Bulgarian demands also included requisitions and wrongful drafts during the wars as well as the acceptance of six thousand Bulgarians' late declarations for emigration that had been filed with the Mixed Commission after the deadline. See IAIE, 1930, A/6/1. Memo of IE, 10 January 1930.

10. In 1930 the Liapchev administration decreased the Bulgarian reparation payments by half and in 1931 adopted a one-year moratorium to aid in the economic recovery after the Great Depression. When the Bulgarian government did not renew its reparation payments a year later, Greek officials terminated their payments according to the Mollov-Kaphandaris Agreement. See Dimitrov, *Iliuzii i deĭstvitelnost*, 158–174; IAIE, 1933, a.a.k. 13. Memo of IE on Greek-Bulgaria relations, 9 December 1932; IAIE, 1932, A/3/G.E. Memo of IE, 6 July 1932; TsDA, f. 176k, op. 6, a.e. 1893, ll. 506–517. Bulg. rep. to MVRI, 30 July 1931; and TsDA, f. 719k, op. 27, a.e. 59, ll. 1–4. Memo of IE regarding the Mollov-Kaphandaris Agreement, 29 August 1941.

Bulgaria and for communal properties such as churches, schools, cemeteries, and monasteries that were abandoned in both countries.[11] The communal property compensation remained the most contentious issue. The question concerned the properties of the 82 Greek communities in Bulgaria and the 299 Bulgarian communities in Greece, properties that had remained behind when the two minorities emigrated. When the Greek and Bulgarian experts in the Mixed Commission failed to agree, the neutral members of the Commission advised the two parties to resort to the arbitration of The Hague Court of International Justice.[12] The Bulgarian government emerged owing a considerable amount to compensate for the Greek religious and educational institutions and their economic assets in its territory. But when, in late 1931, the Mixed Commission had completed its work and compiled all the financial obligations of the two countries, it determined the overall balance of all claims to Bulgaria's advantage.[13]

The two sides agreed to address their disagreements in direct negotiations, which occurred on multiple occasions after 1931.[14] Because of domestic ramifications, Bulgarian and Greek representatives exercised extreme caution when settling controversial issues. In Bulgaria refugee associations pressured the administration to resolve the issue quickly and, not wanting to "ignite public opinion," officials tried to keep all discussions confidential. Bulgarian compensations for Greek damages during the 1906 pogroms was a particularly thorny issue, as it caused vehement protests by powerful refugee organizations that refused to admit Bulgarian responsibility for the anti-Greek events.[15] In Greece, the public insisted that the country, as a wartime winner, should not cede to Bulgaria, the wartime loser, especially after the 1930 Greco-Turkish Agreement that eliminated Greek demands for financial compensation of refugee properties left in Turkey.[16] Facing pressures from

11. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 22, a.e. 257, l. 4. BLA to MVRI, 9 January 1929; IAIE, 1928, 28.1. *Ephimeris ton Valkanion*, 1 July 1929; and Commission Mixte, *Rapport*.

12. The nonbinding opinion of The Hague Court from 31 July 1930 stated that all individuals who had belonged to a religious community should divide up the value of the communal properties in each locality among themselves. But both governments opposed the separate liquidation of each community, which would burden the state budgets. On 17 July 1931 the Mixed Commission decided against verifying the status of each community separately and offset the values of all communities in the two countries. See IAIE, 1930, A/6/V. *Svobodna rech*, 3 August 1930; Gr. rep. to IE, 31 July 1930; and TsDA, f. 176k, op. 6, a.e. 1893, ll. 506–517. Bulg. rep. to MVRI, 30 July 1931.

13. In addition to the communal properties, the Mixed Commission considered all compensation owed by the two countries to their former citizens. The final balance was set at $7,334,873 in favor of Bulgaria. See Commission Mixte, *Rapport*, 64–66; and TsDA, f. 176k, op. 6, a.e. 1893, ll. 506–517. Bulg. rep. to MVRI, 30 July 1931.

14. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 22, a.e. 279, 285, 286, 278, 337, 338. BLA reports between 1931 and 1938; IAIE, 1933. a.a.k. 13. Memo of IE on Greek-Bulgaria relations, 9 September 1932; and IAIE, 1935, A/6/I. Memo titled "Brief description of the Greek-Bulgarian negotiations," 23 December 1935.

15. IAIE, 1930, A/6/I. Memo of Michalakopoulos, 29 September 1930. See also IAIE, A/31/6/I. EPS to IE, 13 May 1931.

16. In 1930 Elevtherios Venizelos and Mustafa Kemal signed a Greek-Turkish agreement aimed at normalizing their relations, and the Greek government agreed to revoke any demands

the Bulgarian Greeks, the goal of the Venizelos administration was to channel the immigrants' discontent toward the Bulgarian government; otherwise, thousands of petitioners would seek compensation from the Greek state.[17] The same trend continued with the change in political leadership during the Metaxas dictatorship after 1936, when the protracted Greek negotiations with Bulgaria served both as an attack on the supporters of Venizelos and as an excuse for the curtailed integration of the Bulgarian Greeks.[18] Because of the conflicting positions of Bulgaria and Greece, the continued talks in the late 1930s provided a political platform for both governments to claim concern for their citizens while evading any lasting commitments that could complicate their agendas.

The compensation of the immigrants for their lost properties dominated public debates in Greece and Bulgaria, because the financial side of emigration was connected both to the socioeconomic status of ordinary people and to the political credibility of the governing elites. Because of the two countries' opposing interests, negotiations regarding the immigrants' compensations continued into the late 1930s but failed to reach a permanent settlement. The result was a stratum of extremely frustrated citizens who wholeheartedly disagreed with their governments' political agendas. Refugees and their unresolved demands remained influential political factors in both countries, creating two-tiered societies that failed to protect the rights of all their citizens.

Still Strangers in Greece

The Greeks from Bulgaria continued their struggles for unconditional integration in the crisis-ridden Greek society of the 1930s. Facing various internal challenges, both economic and political, the successive Greek governments acted as if they had completed the full absorption of all refugees in Greek society. Various political crises occurred in the 1930s, when old tensions between Republicans and Royalists took center stage, perpetuating the cleavages between the local Greeks, who tended to favor a royal return, and the refugees, who remained firm supporters of Venizelos. Following Venizelos's exile King George II restored the monarchy in 1935, and, in 1936, Ioannis Metaxas imposed his authoritarian dictatorship. Relations with Bulgaria became fragile in the late-1930s, not least because the Metaxas regime grew suspicious of its Bulgarian-speaking minority and took fresh measures to assimilate the "Slavophones." After 1938, as Bulgaria continued to re-militarize and draw closer to Germany, and the situation in Europe

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for financial compensation of the Greek Orthodox refugee properties left in Turkey. For the uproar among the refugees that only Venizelos managed to subdue, see Loizos, "Ottoman Half-Selves," 241.

17. IAIE, 1933, a.a.k. 13. Memo of IE on Greek-Bulgaria relations, 9 December 1932.
18. TsDA, f. 322k, op. 3, a.e. 22, ll. 106–107. BLA to MVRI, 27 January 1939.

deteriorated, the two countries embraced strategies of evasive neutrality.[19] Because relations between the two countries remained in limbo on the eve of World War II, no resolution emerged to satisfy the Bulgarian Greeks' demands for incorporation into Greek society.

The financial side of integration remained the most important aspect of the Bulgarian Greeks' public life in the 1930s. The immigrants from Bulgaria remained frustrated with the representatives of the Greek state and believed that officials "disregard[ed] the interests of the affected populations and deal[t] only with the interests of the two states."[20] Ordinary people were not concerned about the institutional consequences or national repercussions of government talks but focused, instead, on how political decisions influenced their daily lives. Challenging official notions of citizenship, individuals found comfort in the social cohesiveness of their communities organized on a regional principle, rather than in the strained interactions with the distant and distrustful central authorities. After a decade of troubled attempts at integration, the Bulgarian Greeks remained rooted in their local concerns and local identities.

When the Mixed Commission ended its work in 1931, many immigrants were left dissatisfied with the economic resources at their disposal in Greece. The issue of securing larger land holdings remained a problem for many farmers who struggled to sustain their families. Other immigrants demanded remunerations for their declarations that had been rejected by the Mixed Commission.[21] Still others who did not receive adequate compensation for wartime requisitions or for wrongful conscription in the Bulgarian Army, or who, as Greek citizens, could not file declarations with the Mixed Commission, also urged the government to find alternative mechanisms for compensating them.[22] Another vocal group of protesters represented the wartime refugees who had fled their localities before the signing of the Convention for Emigration; even though they were able to file declarations with the Mixed Commission, they had only received a fraction of their estates' value because their homes had been destroyed during the wars.[23] A significant number of Greeks from Bulgaria was dissatisfied with their

19. Clogg, *A Concise History of Greece,* 113–123; Thomas Gallant, *Modern Greece* (London, 2001), 150–160. For the refugees, see Hirschon, *Heirs of the Greek Catastrophe.* For internal developments, see George Mavrogordatos, *Stillborn Republic: Social Coalitions and Party Strategies in Greece, 1922–1936* (Berkeley, 1983). For minority policies, see Kostopoulos, *I apagorevmenni glossa;* and Philip Carabott, "Slavomakedones kai kratos stin Ellada tou mesopolemou," *Istor* 10 (1997): 235–278.

20. Translation from *Elevtheron Vima,* in TsDA, f. 176k, op. 5, a.e. 715, l. 36. BLA to MVRI, 23 July 1928.

21. IAIE, 1935, A/6/3. The Organization of Refugees from Stenimachos, 21 May 1935.

22. IAIE, 1933, A/6/Ib. Request of Apostolos Nikolaidis, 28 November 1933; request of Georgios Martsoglou, 30 May 1933; IAIE, 1933, A/6/Ig. The Union of Greeks from Agathoupolis, 11 December 1933; IAIE, 1934, A/6/I/1. Petition of Plato Koumarianos, 4 December 1933.

23. IAIE, 1933, A/6/Ib. The Union of Greeks from Agathoupolis, 14 November 1933; IAIE, 1934, A/6/I/1. Former inhabitants of Meleniko, Ortakeuy, Petritsi, Starchevo, and Agathoupolis, 31 December 1931.

incomplete integration in Greek society and sought alternative channels for promoting their interests as a group.

Given the economic difficulties of the early 1930s, the Venizelos administration resisted any suggestions for compensating the immigrants beyond what they had already received. To achieve some leverage against the government, the representatives of the Bulgarian Greeks raised the question of communal properties. The immigrants believed that Greek officials should allocate the monies to each member of the former religious communities individually, "because the property of each community came from the contributions of our grandfathers."[24] Invoking an image of political organization based on local autonomy and self-government, they challenged the right of the government to decide how to handle their financial affairs. Alternatively, the leaders of the Greeks from Bulgaria proposed a commission that was representative of both the immigrants and the government to determine the value of all communal properties and immediately commence the distribution of funds in the individual communities.[25] Greek officials, however, believed that because the state had already funded the educational and religious institutions available to the immigrants after resettlement, all communal property compensations had to be credited to the budget.[26] In the struggle for financial stability in the 1930s, the two sides failed to reconcile their positions, causing profound bitterness among the population that saw the state impose its vision of communal organization on the immigrants.

Such contested issues led to growing social activism among the Bulgarian Greeks who made their troubled integration the central point of communication with the Greek state. This was especially true of the old refugees from 1906 who had become a symbol of the curtailed integration of all Greeks from Bulgaria. The most vocal critics of the government remained the former inhabitants of Anhialo/Anchialos, who protested the "criminal disregard of our affairs for twenty-five years" that "had left us without economic means to meet the essentials of life."[27] The population regularly convened rallies to commemorate the history of their town and met with high officials to express their indignation that they never received proper compensation for their losses in the 1906 fire.[28] Petitions from the 1930s claimed that emigration had inflicted "double damages" upon the population, as the newcomers had left their prosperous lives in Bulgaria but never

24. IAIE, 1933, A/6/Ia. The United Front of Workers and Peasants in Volos, 11 January 1933.

25. IAIE, 1933, A/6/Ib. Greeks from Vassiliko, Agathoupolis, Anchialos, and Petritsi, 12 December 1933; IAIE, 1934, A/6/V. The Union of Refugees from Meleniko, 10 May 1934; IAIE, 1935, A/6/3. The Organization of Refugees from Stenimachos, 21 May 1935.

26. IAIE, 1934, a.a.k. 1. Note of Diamandopoulos, 12 July 1935.

27. IAIE, 1934, A/6/I/1. Greeks from Anchialos, 16 August 1931.

28. TsDA, f. 719k, op. 27, a.e. 58, ll. 1–5. Undated memo titled "The Greek Demands for Anchialos."

received adequate support in Greece.[29] The refugees opposed any attempts of the Greek government to sacrifice their rights for the sake of rapprochement with Bulgaria and warned against signing any agreements with the northern neighbor before the Bulgarian state agreed to compensate them for their losses.[30] Occasional petitions directed to Venizelos highlighted "the extraordinary appreciation and gratitude" of the new citizens for Greek leaders' "motherly kindness, care, and sacrifice" on their behalf.[31] However, the refugees considered their expression of loyalty as part of a social contract between the state and its citizens, and insistently reminded officials of their obligations. They described their rights as "sacred, immense, indisputable, but also simple," declared that "together with its rights over us, [the state] also ha[d] obligations," and attributed all responsibility for their failed integration to the successive Greek governments.[32] The unremitting bitterness and outright indignation of these petitions revealed that many Greeks from Bulgaria continued to view the Greek state with dissatisfaction.

Besides the problems of socioeconomic adjustment, the Bulgarian Greeks also faced the pungent fact that, as a voluntarily exchanged population, other Greek citizens refused to recognize their suffering, something the refugees from Turkey had successfully used to justify their deserving place in the nation. To offset the national isolation of their communities, the Greeks published historical studies of their past life in Bulgaria that boasted of their unique history, exalted their cultural superiority, and described themselves as good citizens of Mother Greece.[33] The immigrants tried to situate their experience within the context of the Greek tragedy of 1923, but they also underscored that, unlike the other Greek refugees, they had voluntarily sacrificed their comfortable lifestyle in Bulgaria for the sake of the nation's priorities. They portrayed themselves as "a population that [has been] . . . suffering for years only because it did not ignore its nationality or abandon the national idea" and explained that they had endured "violent . . . persecution and repatriation . . . only because we did not want to negate our Greek nationality."[34] Emphasizing their sacrifice for the sake of the nation, they reminded their countrymen of their rightful place in Greek history.

Anchialists used the specter of the 1906 inferno to argue that their rights as full-fledged Greek citizens were "incorruptible and pure because they originated in the flames of our burned city."[35] Calling Anchialos "a fortress of the

29. IAIE, 1934, A/6/I/1. Greeks from Anchialos, 20 July 1930.

30. IAIE, 1934, A/6/I/1. Undated Petition of the Union of All Anchialists; Greeks from Anhialo/Anchialos, 5 December 1933.

31. IAIE, 1934, A/6/I/1. Greeks from Stenimachos, 30 November 1933; Union of All Anchialists, 5 May 1933.

32. IAIE, 1934, A/6/I/1. Greeks from Anchialos, 5 December 1933, 25 April 1934.

33. For a similar trend among all Greek refugees, see Hirschon, *Heirs of the Greek Catastrophe*, 12–14, 30–33. For an examination of these narratives, see chapter 7 in this volume.

34. IAIE, 1934, A/6/I/1. The Union of All Anchialists, 12 December 1931; Greeks from Stenimachos, 30 November 1933.

35. IAIE, 1934, A/6/I/1. Greeks from Anchialos, 5 December 1933.

national idea . . . in the northern reaches of the Greek nation," they reiterated that their city had endured "disaster in a time of peace." Petitions insistently reminded all Greek co-nationals that the famous Black Sea acropolis since ancient times "was sacrificed at the altar of Macedonia's freedom."[36] These were powerful images of national martyrdom, similar to the symbolism of the Smyrna fire, that emphasized the Bulgarian Greeks' distinguished place in the history of the Greek nation. The immigrants phrased their socioeconomic concerns in the idiom of the nation and promoted an image of martyrdom; in so doing they carved out a place for the Bulgarian Greeks in the Greek nation's tragic history of displacement and at the same time justified their current demands.

The immigrants' undermined sense of national incorporation explains why many Bulgarian Greeks continued to call themselves "refugees" and describe their lives as a "refugee existence," even though their experience of displacement differed from that of the forced migrants from the Ottoman Empire.[37] Like other Greek refugees, the "new citizens" from Bulgaria had an overwhelming sense of their inadequate national absorption and insufficient social inclusion in the Greek state. Instead of feeling like rightful members of the Greek nation, they continued to derive their group identity from the value of their local communities which they had uprooted and tried to reconstruct after resettlement. Thus the immigrants promoted a local vision of political membership that focused on the plight of the community. In the context of negotiating with state authorities, the local identity of the Greeks from Bulgaria functioned as a political identity, emphasizing their experience as a population that had "sacrificed their properties and children at the altar of the Motherland." Because the Greek state had "ruined [them] . . . for the ideals of the Nation," many Bulgarian Greeks continued to see their local communities as the ideal model of social and political organization that defended their unique interests.[38] In the 1930s the population's loyalty remained focused on their unique experience as Bulgarian Greeks and only secondarily as members of the Greek nation.

The Invisible Minority in Bulgaria

Minority policies remained volatile in Bulgaria in the 1930s, as in the 1920s, but with one significant difference: the state bureaucracy abandoned its cautious nationalism and became more assertive in its nationalization endeavors. Unable to guarantee reciprocity in the treatment of Bulgarian minorities abroad, the successive Bulgarian governments gradually adopted

36. IAIE, 1934, A/6/I/1. Greeks from Anchialos, 25 April 1934; Telegram from Nea Anchialos, 26 November 1933.

37. IAPE, Ath 59, Ath 33, and Ath 35, interviews with men from Mesemvria; IAPE, Ath 97, interview with a man from Sozopol/Sozoupolis. However, a man from Stanimaka/Stenimachos said that the Greeks were not refugees but left Bulgaria voluntarily (IAPE, Ath 118).

38. IAIE, 1934, A/6/I/1. Undated Petition of the Union of All Anchialists.

firmer policies against their own minorities at home. This shift in minority provisions reflected a wider change in Bulgarian politics. In response to the impact of the economic depression after 1931, radical political groups within the country sought "regeneration" through the increased power of the central administration. This trend paved the way for the authoritarian regime of King Boris III; after 1935, acting as the father of the nation, the royal dictator cherry-picked loyal prime ministers and parliaments, suppressed political dissent, and invited closer ties with Germany. The regime tolerated the activities of nationalist organizations that advocated extreme views on the purity of the nation, and a pervasive nationalist atmosphere, focused on Bulgarian territorial revisionism at her neighbors' expense, dominated public life.[39] The main concern of officials and national brokers remained the Turks and Pomaks, with the successive governments pursuing policies of marginalization and expulsion directed at the former and of integration and "re-Bulgarization" at the latter. Changing census rules, revised educational requirements, new citizenship regulations, the renaming of foreign-language place names, and the suppression of Kemalist propaganda were some of the measures introduced in the 1930s. Responding to the combination of incentives and pressures, close to one hundred thousand Turks emigrated from Bulgaria between 1934 and 1939 alone.[40] These were not assimilationist policies targeting the minority populations as a whole, but they reflected the adoption of repressive measures within a state with increasingly authoritarian leanings.

Though not explicitly targeting Greek communities, certain side effects of the new nationalization policies affected the Greeks remaining in Bulgaria. The 1934 census did not include "Greek" as an option for one's nationality but only allowed respondents to indicate that their "language of usual discourse" (*govorim ezik*) was Greek. With this change from the previous term "mother tongue" (*materen ezik*), officials were now able to pressure bilingual individuals to choose Bulgarian as their "usual" language.[41] Overall only 9,601 persons declared they were Greek speakers compared to 12,782 in 1926.[42] The further decline in number reflected the continued

39. Some organizations included Rodina (Motherland), which aimed at modernizing the Pomaks, and Otest Paisiĭ (named after Paisiĭ of Hilendar), which advocated Bulgarian territorial expansionism. For an overview of the period, see Crampton, *Bulgaria,* 240–257; and Rothschild, *East Central Europe,* 348–355.

40. New educational policies sought to distance the Turks from Kemalist propaganda while indoctrinating the Pomaks with the values of good Bulgarians. In 1934 the Kimon Georgiev government initiated a campaign of renaming all Turkish-sounding localities by translating them into Bulgarian or giving them appropriate Bulgarian names. To encourage emigration, the Bulgarian governments also offered incentives to the Turks who wished to emigrate by lifting restrictions on the sale of property. See Mila Mancheva, "State-Minority Relations and the Education of Turks and Pomaks in Interwar Bulgaria, 1918–1944" (Ph.D. diss., Central European University Press, 2003); Mancheva, "Image and Policy"; Neuburger, *The Orient Within.*

41. Rothshild, *East Central Europe,* 328. For the evolution of the census in Bulgaria, see Dimitâr Arkadiev, "Izuchavane na etnicheskiia sâstav pri prebroiavaniata na naselenieto v Bâlgariia," *Naselenie* (1992): 47–57. I thank Mila Mancheva for referring me to this article.

42. Kotzageorgi, *Oi Ellines tis Voulgarias,* 216.

migration of some Greeks after 1926, but it also indicated a wider trend: because Bulgarian authorities did not allow individuals to declare their Greek nationality, people also avoided professing their national allegiances publicly. Bulgarian officials saw a distinction between poor and rich Greeks; the former, they believed, were likely to assimilate, whereas the latter were seen as potential leaders of the minority. Yet the behavior of the population as a whole shifted markedly: whereas in the 1920s the Greeks had put an end to their national activism while preserving the cultural aspects of their heritage, notably their language, in the 1930s they consciously blended into the Bulgarian national body, concealed their language, and became an "invisible minority."

Acting in concert, Bulgarian officials and national brokers implemented various measures of national rejuvenation targeting the Greek communities. Molding the upbringing and education of the new Bulgarian generation was at the core of the activities aimed at the minority. Bulgarian activists bemoaned that, in Greek localities, even after the arrival of the Bulgarian refugees, "we cannot talk about cultural influence over the Greeks or claim the nationalization [*natsionalizirane*] of the area." In addition to the fact that "the Greek element [wa]s strong and the material resources—the salt and wine industr[ies]—[we]re in predominantly Greek hands," indignant citizens of Anhialo/Anchialos pointed out that the Greeks "live[d] with the memory of their highly cultured past and remember[ed] it with pride."[43] Because of the prevalence of the Greek language, Bulgarians feared that "our children have remained in the merciless hands of the street, the pubs, and coffeehouses." Therefore they wanted to neutralize the Greek influence in informal social areas by having more schools indoctrinate Bulgarian values.[44] In line with the nationalist spirit, students traveled throughout the country, attended patriotic activities and lectures on historic topics, and received carefully prepared information about the Bulgarian territorial aspirations in Greek Thrace and Macedonia.[45] Organizations celebrated patriotic holidays and organized rallies against the Neuilly Treaty.[46] Participation in the Union of Bulgarian Youth, an organization with a nationalist focus, became obligatory. Officials in Sozopol/Sozoupolis organized compulsory meetings of all youth between twelve and twenty years of age, in which, as perceived by Greek diplomats, they subjected Greek students to "systematic indoctrination about their Bulgarian nationality" aimed at the "Bulgarization and assimilation of the new Greek generation."[47] Such educational and cultural

43. DA-Burgas, f. 82k, op. 1, a.e. 12, ll. 1–2. The Citizens Committee from Pomorie, June 1939.

44. "We want a high school," *Chernomorski glas*, 15 June 1939.

45. IAIE, 1939, 19. EPV to IE, 30 May 1939.

46. IAIE, 1935, A/6/1. EPS to IE, 31 July 1935; IAIE, 1938, 6. EPS to IE, 27 November 1937; EPV to IE, 25 November 1938.

47. IAIE, 1935, A/6/2/2. EPPh to IE, 18 February 1935.

strategies succeeded among many young Greeks, as evident in Anhialo/Anchialos where "the children of Greek families stud[ied] together with Bulgarian kids [and] [we]re ashamed to call themselves Greeks."[48]

Officials periodically tried to prohibit or limit the use of the Greek language. Activists in Anhialo/Anchialos begrudgingly remarked, "today still, unfortunately, we often hear Greek speech in our town" and described how bewildered visitors frequently asked, "Am I in Bulgaria or in Greece?"[49] Police authorities in Plovdiv/Philippoupolis also worried that "Greek is spoken almost openly in public places such as restaurants, coffee shops, [and] movie theaters."[50] Because language remained the cultural marker of the community, officials saw the use of the Greek language as the emblem of the problematic Bulgarization of the minority. The police chief of Anhialo/Anchialos spoke of the anxieties of local authorities who dealt with the minority every day: "as a policeman . . . I cannot comprehend anything from their conversations, even if they speak against us." Imposing a ban on speaking a foreign language in public was the only logical solution, in this officer's view, as it allowed him to exercise control over a potentially dangerous minority even if it put him at odds with the central authorities.[51] Aware of the existence of Greek social networks that skillfully evaded official control, administrators diligently followed what they understood as the dictate of their times, that is, the national homogenization of their communities.

Another strategy authorities used to undermine the minority's standing was to rename various public places. As early as 1925 refugees proposed changing the name of Mesemvria to Han Krum, in honor of the Bulgarian medieval king who had killed the Byzantine emperor Nikiphoros I.[52] Local authorities abandoned this plan but ultimately changed the name to the Bulgarized version Nesebâr.[53] When the Anhialo/Anchialos City Council discussed renaming their city, a commission recommended three options: Primorie (a translation of the Greek Anchialos), Solengrad (Salt City), and Lozengrad or Vinograd (Wine City). Despite the population's preference for Solengrad as well as opposition from the City Council, a directive of the Ministry of the Interior from August 1934 assigned the name Pomorie. Officials also made sure that all streets and public venues bore the names of important Bulgarian historical figures and events.[54] Not all residents

48. DA-Burgas, f. 82k, op. 1, a.e. 12, ll. 1–2. The Citizens' Committee from Pomorie, June 1939.

49. Ibid.; and "We want a high school," *Chernomorski glas,* 15 June 1939.

50. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 22, a.e. 367, l. 36. The Plovdiv Police Chief to MVRNZ, 30 November 1935.

51. DA-Burgas, f. 82k, op. 1, a.e. 45, ll. 72–73. Undated explanation of the Anhialo Police Chief. For details, see the opening paragraph of this chapter.

52. DA-Burgas, f. 151k, op. 1, a.e 1, l. 9. Protocols of the Mesemvria City Council, October 1925.

53. Nikolaĭ Michev and Petâr Koledarov, *Rechnik na selishtata i selishtnite imena v Bâlgariia, 1878–1987* (Sofia, 1989).

54. Some of the new street names included Han Krum, Tsar Boris, Kiril and Medotiĭ, Tsar Simeon, Tsar Samuil, Georgi Benkovski, Shipka, Hristo Botev, Ivan Vazov, and Peĭo Iavorov.

endorsed the hard-handed approach of the Ministry of the Interior, which they saw as disrespecting the idiosyncrasy of local traditions. Even municipal officials opposed the name Pomorie; "this name," they declared, "d[id] not reflect the true historical importance of our city as well as the customs and occupation of our population."[55] But the 1934 campaign of the Kimon Georgiev government did not respect local sensitivities and pursued a broadly conceived strategy of translating or Bulgarizing all foreign toponyms in the country. That same year Stanimaka/Stenimachos became Asenovgrad, the city of Asen, to honor the medieval Bulgarian king who had built the nearby fortress in the thirteenth century.[56] Sozopol/Sozoupolis preserved its name, but in compliance with central authorities, the City Council renamed all the streets of the town.[57] Central authorities and local nationalists strove to irreversibly remove the Greeks from public sight, promoting Bulgarian cultural and historical references as a way to erase the presence of the Greeks from the Bulgarian national consciousness.

Bulgarian officials also regulated matters of citizenship, creating universal rules that governed the place of each individual in the national body. According to the new regulations, all persons born in Bulgaria were Bulgarian citizens unless they had opted for the citizenship of their parents at age twenty-two or had performed military service for another country.[58] Other provisions imposed strict limitations on foreigners. Rules concerning landownership from 1934 prohibited foreign citizens from owning immovable properties in rural areas.[59] A 1935 decree required that all foreign citizens register during their stay in Bulgaria, and mandated that those who remained in the country for a longer period had to carry an identity card (*lichna karta*).[60] These measures aimed at ending the old practice of dual citizenship, as many Greeks registered in the county of their residence as Bulgarian citizens but also had Greek passports and were enrolled in the registries of the Greek consulates. The citizenship application process became more formal and included an endorsement that each applicant "harbors good feelings toward Bulgaria [*pitae dobri chuvstva kâm Bâlgariia*]." These new provisions made it an encumbrance for long-term Bulgarian residents to have Greek citizenship, and when the government imposed high

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DA-Burgas, f. 212k, op. 1, a.e. 17, ll. 214–215; DA-Burgas, f. 212k, op. 1, a.e. 28, ll. 31–32; DA-Burgas, f. 212k, op. 1, a.e. 24, ll. 6b–9. Protocols of the Anhialo City Council, 7 November 1925, 17 February 1937, and 29 September 1934.

55. DA-Burgas, f. 212k, op. 1, a.e. 24, ll. 6b–9. Protocols of the Anhialo City Council, 29 September 1934.

56. Michev and Koledarov, *Rechnik*. For earlier Bulgarian attempts to rename the city, see Apostolidis, *O Stenimachos*, 70 n. 1.

57. DA-Burgas, f. 152k, op. 1, a.e. 14, l. 119. Protocols of the Sozopol City Council, 1934.

58. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 12, a.e 769, l. 2. MP to MVRI, 1 February 1928.

59. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 32, a.e. 193, l. 380. Summary of changes in the law regarding rural counties from 1934 and 1935.

60. The full name of the 1935 law was Decree Regarding the Passports, Border Passes, and Police Control over Foreigners.

fees for identity cards and fined those who failed to obtain them promptly, many Greeks switched to Bulgarian citizenship.[61]

Whereas in 1926 there were 4,146 Greek citizens in Bulgaria, their number diminished to 2,448 in 1934. This notable decline reflected the tendency to emigrate, but it also confirmed that, in the 1930s, the population saw Greek citizenship as less advantageous compared to the 1920s, when many Greeks had sought the protections allocated to Allied citizens by the Neuilly Treaty.[62] When authorities required all fishermen to have Bulgarian citizenship, the Greeks in Sozopol/Sozoupolis submitted applications for citizenship en masse, fearing that they might be unable to practice their profession and would have to emigrate.[63] In the Plovdiv/Philippoupolis area, persons with an unsettled residence status had two months to arrange their papers, with the official promise that adopting Bulgarian citizenship would exempt them from fines for failing to register with the county.[64] After police authorities determined that most of the 110 families of Greek citizens in Stanimaka/Stenimachos had irregular papers and warned them that they could be expelled, some presented documentation that they had become Bulgarian citizens.[65] Although these new Bulgarian citizens most likely continued to feel Greek culturally, they understood that adopting Bulgarian citizenship symbolized their acceptance of the rules of the national community and did not hesitate to publicly comply with Bulgarian national interests.

As the state bureaucracy expanded its reach and nationalist societies dominated the public sphere, many Greeks voluntarily blended into Bulgarian society and purposely concealed their nationality to avoid harassment and inconvenience. This tendency was apparent in Plovdiv/Philippoupolis, the former capital of the Greek presence in Bulgaria:

> Except for the [Greek] citizens and the very few who admit their nationality and are recognized as Greeks by the Bulgarians, [the persons who openly declare they are Greeks] can be counted on the fingers of both hands, [and] the rest even hesitate to speak their mother tongue publicly. Most want to appear as Bulgarians, so they can avoid conflicts with their super-patriotic Bulgarian cohabitants, and they claim to be [Bulgarians] to the police and [when filing] census statistical cards; they introduce the Bulgarian language in their households, despite the reaction of their wives who continue to speak the mother tongue. All are doomed to Bulgarization [*ekvoulgarismos*], which is

61. TsDA, f. 242k, op. 2, a.e. 1637, l. 128. Citizenship application from 1933; TsDA, 370k, op. 6, a.e. 91, ll. 3–4. MVRNZ to all district chiefs, 10 March 1931, regarding the legal status of foreigners; and IAIE, 1935, A/6/2/2. EPS to IE, 26 July 1935.

62. Kotzageorgi, *Oi Ellines tis Voulgarias*, 216.

63. IAIE, 1935, A/6/2/2. EPP to IE, 27 September 1934; IAIE, 1939, 15.2. EPP to IE, 20 September 1939.

64. IAIE, 1934, A/6/2. EPPh to IE, 26 and 28 January 1934, 21 January 1935.

65. DA-Plovdiv, f. 75k, op. 1, a.e. 118, l. 33. Plovdiv District Police Chief to MVRNZ, 24 August 1937; and TsDA, f. 176k, op. 22, a.e. 385, l. 1. Correspondence from July 1937.

> made easier because of the lack of a Greek school . . . , church, or another national organization.[66]

In Varna "the Greeks who held Bulgarian citizenship unfortunately fail[ed] to disclose their patriotic feelings, because many of them adopt[ed] Bulgarian manners [*voulgarizousi*] out of necessity and interest, and hesitate[d] to speak their mother tongue . . . [and] others openly declare[d] that they [we]re Bulgarians."[67] Even Greeks from prominent families abandoned the Greek language and sought a Bulgarian education so that they could pursue public service positions. This was true of young people who "have not only abandoned the Greek language but also have acquired a completely Bulgarian consciousness."[68] Greek diplomats decried "the ultimate extinction" and the "now guaranteed Bulgarization" of the population, continuing to treat individuals as a bounded group marked by their Greekness.[69] In contrast, ordinary people tried to "unmark" their ethnicity and render it invisible. Their choice of social membership was guided by practical considerations of inclusion rather that nationalistic intentions of exclusion, and they remained more interested in social interactions with the Bulgarian community than with an ideological commitment to the Greek cause.[70]

Through the activities of the central authorities and local activists, but also through individuals' everyday choices, the Greek localities acquired a Bulgarian air. This trend was apparent in Anhialo/Anchialos, now Pomorie. Instead of lambasting the diverse ethnic composition of their town and the continued existence of minorities, national activists disseminated their stories of progress: "everything that the Greek notables had failed to achieve in the past has been accomplished today; . . . running water, railway connections . . . good infrastructure . . . and electricity."[71] The ruins of the burned down Church of the Lady, or Panagia, was a reminder of the significant Greek presence in the town, but when church officials, in 1938, started the restoration of the building they described the church as "the pride of Bulgarian art."[72] In 1939 King Boris III visited Pomorie to celebrate the opening of a railroad line to Burgas/Pirgos and praised the "prosperity, culture, and progress" of this once Greek city. Surrounded by students dressed in costumes from Macedonia, Thrace, and Dobrudzha, the three areas of Bulgarian national aspiration, the king cut a ribbon in the colors of the Bulgarian

66. Apostolidis, "Ta aitia," 72–73.
67. IAIE, 1933, A/6/Va. EPV to IE, 27 June 1933.
68. Apostolidis, *O Stenimachos,* 36 n. 1, regarding his cousins' children.
69. IAIE, 1934, A/6/2. EPPh to IE, 28 January 1934.
70. For this interpretation, see Brubaker, *Nationalist Politics and Everyday Ethnicity,* 273.
71. IAIE, 1934, A/6/I/1. EPP to IE, 17 October 1931, regarding the article "Anhialo in the Past and Present," *Burgaski far.*
72. Kosta Traianov, *Rodnoto more. Ot Kaliakra do Ropotamo* (Varna, 1938), 25; and IAIE, 1939, 20a (A/6/10). EPP to IE, 23 June 1938 and 18 January 1939, including a translation from *Vecherna poshta,* 14 January 1939.

flag.[73] Speeches exalted "the entrepreneurial spirit, persistence, and creative ambition of the Bulgarian nation," and samples of wine, salt, and fish, products formerly monopolized by Greeks, were exhibited in the cultural center as the output of the "hard-working Bulgarian people."[74] There was no place for Greeks in the achievements of the Bulgarian nation, and, even though selected individuals remained influential in their communities, silence successfully erased the minority from the official story of national progress.

In the late 1930s the Greeks became an "invisible minority"; some individuals of Greek descent remained in Bulgaria, but they adhered to the Bulgarian lifestyle and strategically hid their background. Despite the substantial Greek population in many areas, officials evasively talked about "foreigners" (*inorodtsi*) and avoided any mention of the ethnicity of the population, as if such a reference would bring the minority to life. But the invisibility of these "disguised Greeks" was also a result of their own choice to integrate more easily into Bulgarian society. Though privately many continued to speak Greek and adhered to Greek traditions, in their public appearance people chose to behave as Bulgarians and merge within the Bulgarian national body. In many ways these choices transformed these Greeks into Bulgarians and predetermined their children's national consciousness. In all formerly Greek communities, the Greeks gradually disappeared from public sight.

The "Undesirables"

Still, a question remains: What were the limits of the capacity of individuals to mold their relationship to the state and ignore their ascribed nationality? As war approached the Balkans in the late 1930s, the emergencies of military conflict forced the administrations to implement urgent measures that allowed no personal discretion or choice. When relations between Bulgaria and Greece deteriorated in 1939 and 1940, following Bulgaria's growing support for Germany's revisionist policies, the two governments retaliated against each other; each targeted some of the most vulnerable citizens of its country, namely, minority individuals whom they identified with the other country and treated as potential traitors to the nation. State bureaucrats did not simply silence or erase these "undesirables"; when "national interest" dictated, officials were prepared to crush the autonomy of individuals and eliminate their ability to be "invisible."

In early 1939 the Georgi Kioseivanov government started checking the residency status of all foreign citizens, including Greek citizens, instructing police authorities to deport those who did not have the appropriate papers.[75]

73. IAIE, 1939, 13.1. EPP to IE, 26 June 1939.

74. *Chernomorski glas*, 1 July 1939. See, especially, "The Progress of Pomorie."

75. Authorities inspected citizens of Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Turkey, France, Germany, Poland, Spain, Britain, and Romania, as well as Jews of various citizenships. See TsDA, f. 176k, op. 7, a.e. 1202, 1203, 1204.

The investigation determined that, despite repeated notifications, many of the 1,024 Greek citizens had yet to acquire the necessary identity cards.[76] For their lack of compliance, police authorities expelled some 47 Greeks by July and another 115 by September.[77] Those deported comprised two categories: indigent people who lacked the financial means to pay for the required documents, and affluent merchants and real estate owners who were considered "undesirable" (*nezhelatelni*) based on national security concerns. Greek diplomats understood that, in addition to enforcing the strict legal norms, Bulgarian authorities also wanted to eliminate Greek competition in commerce and undermine the influence of individuals with a prominent role in the Greek communities.[78] Examples of high-profile "undesirables" targeted by Bulgarian officials included the affluent real estate owner and sponsor of Greek culture Kiriakos Marintsoglou who "used his prosperity . . . to support the Greek spirit of the Greeks in Bulgaria"; the historian Mirtilos Apostolidis whose scholarly works turned him into an "organ of Greek culture and propaganda"; and the prosperous merchant and co-chairman of the Bulgarian-Greek Association Athanasios Chourmouzis whose contacts with Greek diplomats rendered him suspicious.[79] Not even the mediation of influential Bulgarians, such as the chairman of the Bulgarian-Greek Association who had attempted to stop unnecessary deportations, helped reverse the fate of these individuals who were often given a mere forty-eight-hour notice to leave the country.[80]

The police used arbitrary criteria for determining that a violation had occurred, confirming the Greek opinion that the deportations served to rid Bulgarian territory of prominent Greeks. One officer declared the historian Apostolidis to be "suspect of serving Greek intelligence" and "dangerous for the national security," because the semi-deaf scholar spent much of his time in a coffeehouse, speaking "exclusively" in Greek and "always trying to listen to conversations at neighboring tables."[81] Officials sealed the fate of other individuals whom they classified as "one of the most zealous [*edin ot naĭ-fanatiziranite*] Greeks who has always shown his Greek nationality" or "a close acquaintance of Greek diplomatic representatives." Other incriminating evidence included nurturing "extremely hostile feelings toward Bulgaria," "always prais[ing] Greece,"

76. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 22, a.e. 421, l. 21. DP to MVRI, 17 October 1939.

77. IAIE, 1939, 20.1. The Fifth Military Division in Alexandroupolis to IE, 12 July 1939; IAIE, 1939, 15. 2. Lists of expelled Greeks from Bulgaria, July—September 1939.

78. IAIE, 1939, 20.1. EPS to IE, 3 July 1939; and IAIE, 1940, 17a. EPP to IE, 2 February 1940.

79. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 32, a.e. 193, ll. 66, 68–69. Police reports regarding Apostolidis, March 1939. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 22, a.e. 421, ll. 1, 10. Reports regarding Chourmouzis, July 1939; and TsDA, f. 176k, op. 7, a.e. 1203, ll. 178, 180, 181. Reports regarding Marintsoglou, July and December 1939. See also Greek reports in IAIE, 1939, 20.1.

80. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 7, a.e. 1203, l. 165. Georgi Govedarov to MVRI, 11 March 1940.

81. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 32, a.e. 193, ll. 68–69. The Plovdiv District Police Chief to MVRNZ, 29 March 1939.

or "vividly follow[ing] politics."[82] Some accusations were so far-fetched that even Bulgarian officials saw the measures as "premature" decisions leading to "tragic results," because they triggered a reciprocal expulsion of Bulgarian citizens from Greece.[83] By early 1940 the Kioseivanov government expelled close to four hundred Greek citizens, showing an unyielding determination to rid the country of all Greeks suspected of being "weapons of Greek propaganda and intelligence" or "engaged in activity detrimental to the state."[84]

This deportation crisis also affected another category of Bulgarian residents: the former candidate-emigrants pursuant to the 1919 Convention for Emigration who had stayed in the country attempting to withdraw their declarations. In contrast to the predominantly affluent expellees among the Greek citizens, these deportees tended to be regular people who had quietly adjusted to life in Bulgaria and avoided confrontation with authorities for many years. In November 1939, following instructions from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Directorate of the Police issued an order to the regional chiefs to investigate all candidate-emigrants who had not left the country.[85] After local authorities compiled detailed lists, diplomats verified the names against the records of the Mixed Commission and identified the final list of people whose departure from Bulgaria they considered long overdue. Between September and November 1939 police officers escorted some seventy seven persons and their dependants to the Greek border, and in May 1940 at least fifty four persons and their families still faced deportation.[86] Most had not only received clearance to leave Bulgaria but had also cashed the checks issued by the Mixed Commission for their properties. Still, it is debatable whether people intentionally tried to manipulate the system or unknowingly became victims of the emigration procedures, since, fifteen years later, there were also cases of administrative mistakes and misplaced papers.[87]

The state machinery, however, showed no mercy. When the Ministry of War sought a "delicate" way to deal with some thirty three Greeks from the village Oreshets near the Greek border, as they allegedly showed hostility to

82. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 7, a.e. 1203, ll. 109, 154, 163, 178, 180; TsDA, f. 176k, op. 7, a.e. 1202, ll. 114, 348; TsDA, f. 176k, op. 7, a.e. 1204, l. 86. Police reports regarding expelled Greek citizens from late 1939 to early 1940.

83. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 22, a.e. 421, ll. 1, 35. BLA to MVRI, 26 July 1939; DP to MVRI, 24 August 1939.

84. For detailed lists of the Greek expellees, see IAIE, 1940, 16.

85. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 32, a.e. 97, ll. 47, 49. MVRI to DP, 20 September 1939; DP to the district police chiefs, 16 November 1939.

86. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 32, a.e. 97, ll. 12, 17, 19, 47, 53–56, 66–67. It is not clear if these lists are complete and how many people were expelled between November 1939 and May 1940. Ibid., ll. 78–79. MVRI to DP, 25 May 1940, estimated the remaining Greeks to be "forty to fifty families."

87. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 8, a.e. 805, l. 1. MVRI to DP, 6 April 1940; and TsDA, f. 176k, op. 32, a.e. 97, ll. 23, 28, 67. Correspondence of MVRI, BLA, and district police chiefs, 12 April 1939; 19 February and 13 June 1940.

military units stationed in the area, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs immediately identified four of them as former candidate-emigrants subject to deportation.[88] But while these four expulsions could be legitimately interpreted as based on national security needs, others truly showed the heartlessness of a system that allowed people a mere fifteen days to arrange their affairs before deportation. A widow had chosen to stay in Bulgaria after her husband had passed away shortly before emigration in 1925; fourteen years later the widow, two daughters, and the son of the deceased Greek were all married to Bulgarian refugees, but officials still targeted them for expulsion. Authorities also deliberated about how to deal with a candidate-emigrant who had been underage at the time of his father's declaration and was currently not only married to a Bulgarian but had also served in the Bulgarian Army.[89] In other cases, officials expelled the husband who had submitted the original declaration but allowed his children or wife, or both, to remain in Bulgaria.[90] Despite the intervention of local administrators who submitted recommendations on behalf of potential expellees, the central authorities were determined to deport all "Greeks" who had failed to leave the country, regardless of their circumstances or the Bulgarian affiliations of their families.

These expulsions affected a relatively small number of people, but they had an extremely demoralizing effect on the remaining Greeks in Bulgaria. Because the authorities expelled many prominent personalities who had served as informal leaders of the communities, they literally decimated the leadership of the minority. The Greeks suffered a "psychological blow," for the deportations made a "painful and most distressing impression" and generated "desperation and fear" among the population, which became even more reluctant to show its Greek affiliations.[91] But these deportations also affected ordinary people with no active connections to the Greek cause who became the scapegoats of a system that relentlessly punished a handful of individuals for their inability to navigate the confusion of emigration in the previous decade. People's desperation was evident in their threats to commit suicide and in their proposals to voluntarily relocate to the interior of the country because, otherwise, "it would be sad to send a Bulgarian family to Greece."[92] People faced the profound injustice of the fact that, "nobody would earn anything from our exile from Bulgaria while we will abandon here our loved ones, spouses, children, sons, grandchildren, and great-grand children." Thus potential deportees passionately pleaded: "We do not de-

88. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 32, a.e. 97, ll. 2, 3, 5. Correspondence between MVRI and MV, October and November 1939.

89. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 32, a.e. 97, l. 13. DP to MVRI, 27 December 1939.

90. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 32, a.e. 97, ll. 7, 22. Petitions to MVRI, 5 November 1939, 15 February 1940.

91. IAIE, 1939, 20.1. EPPh to IE, 24 April 1939.

92. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 8, a.e. 805, l. 46. Nikola Vasilev and Rusana Georgieva from Pashovo to His Majesty Boris III, 15 July 1940.

serve this fate! We should not be exiled from our motherland without any reason!"[93] Ironically these individuals, even if not staunch Bulgarian patriots, probably felt more Bulgarian than Greek because their choice to stay in Bulgaria fifteen years prior had cultivated certain loyalties to their country of residence or at least to their families and communities in Bulgaria. But when the bureaucratic machine took extreme measures to implement its provisions, "speaking national" no longer worked in the face of national security concerns. This situation further explains why, as a result of the deportation crisis, the already invisible Greeks in Bulgaria continued to follow their strategy of living quiet private lives and avoiding public activism.

The expellees who arrived in Greece faced an equally challenging situation, as they now had to adjust to an unfamiliar country without any financial resources. Even though relatives offered help and immigrant associations intervened on their behalf, the deportees, upon their arrival in Greece, faced a long battle of recovering their properties abandoned in Bulgaria and acquiring land or finding employment. The former candidate-emigrants under the Convention for Emigration, expelled as Bulgarian citizens after all deadlines had expired, also had to secure Greek citizenship to be eligible to acquire land in Greece.[94] Greek authorities questioned the "trustworthiness of their national consciousness"; after all, these individuals had remained in Bulgaria in the postwar years. Thus officials mandated that the new arrivals could not settle in the border areas, where most of their co-villagers resided and could offer assistance, but instead had to move to "old Greece" further away from the Bulgarian border.[95] Expelled from Bulgaria because they were *too* Greek, in Greece these people were seen as not being Greek *enough*. In the end, the decision of the two states to apply the law to its fullest extent, without compromise, punished individuals with unsettled identities who, as war approached the Balkans, found it impossible to navigate their idiosyncratic positions between the two countries.

The Limits of People's Agency

As the developments in the late 1930s clearly show, people's propensity to disregard or manipulate their nationality provided little help when the state machinery marked individuals as loyal or disloyal, desirable or undesirable, and national enough or insufficiently national. People continued to use the old strategy of "speaking national," which they believed would help them attune their broken relationship with the administration. However, using the national rhetoric as an emergency identity provided little help to individuals

93. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 8, a.e. 805, ll. 16, 30. Eight inhabitants of General Inzovo (formerly Ak Bunar) to MVRNZ, 4 and 5 July 1940.

94. IAIE, 1940, 17a. The Association of Greeks from Stenimachos and the Association of Greeks from Varna, January and March 1940.

95. IAIE, 1940, 17a. GDM to IE, 24 April 1940.

already defined by the state as deserving or undeserving. The ability to maneuver notions of nationality, community, and citizenship depended on the policies adopted by the particular state, and as policies changed in the 1930s, so did individuals' capability to choose their identities.

The limits of personal agency were apparent in the story of the Koumarianos family. A dentist by trade, Plato Koumarianos was the son of the editor-in-chief of the Greek newspaper *Philippoupolis* in that city. His father had witnessed the destruction of his printing press during the 1906 anti-Greek movement.[96] When Greek emigration began in 1925, however, Plato, together with his sisters Maria and Eleni, did not relocate to Greece, possibly because as Greek citizens they could not submit declarations for emigration and property liquidation. Only in the early 1930s did the dentist decide, for reasons unknown, to resettle in Alexandroupolis in Thrace, but he regularly traveled to Bulgaria, visiting his sisters and supervising his real estate interests in Plovdiv/Philippoupolis. Meanwhile, he also became involved in immigrant affairs in Greece; he offered his expertise in Greek negotiations with Bulgaria, asked for "drastic measures" against the Bulgarian government, and accused the Bulgarian people of "fanaticism and savagery."[97] His national activism, however, did not serve him well. In 1937, when he wanted to spend the Easter holidays with his family in Bulgaria, Bulgarian diplomats refused to issue him a visa. Protesting this "awful and ungrounded offense," Plato wrote in Bulgarian: "I have not committed any crime . . . in the country where I was born and grew up, where my parents' grave is, [and] where my sisters and properties are; how could I do something bad, I must be insane." He assured the Bulgarian Embassy in Athens that he was not "an anarchist, a crook, or a spy in the country from which I have so many dear memories" but "an excellent, dutiful, and respectful citizen [*otlichen, prilezhen i korekten grazhdanin*]."[98] In a concurrent protest to the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs, however, he attributed the incident to his father's "fervent advocacy of Greek rights" and his own active involvement in Greek community affairs.[99] Plato Koumarianos was not allowed to visit Bulgaria ever again. In 1939 Bulgarian police authorities deported his sisters on the grounds that they "spoke Greek and befriended exclusively Greek . . . families" and had a brother in Greece who was hostile to Bulgaria.[100]

96. TsDA, f. 159k, op. 5, a.e. 91, ll. 2–6, 18–20, 37–38. Legal opinions from 1921 and 1922.

97. IAIE, 1931, A/6/I and IAIE, 1934, A/6/I/1. Petitions of Plato Koumarianos from Plovdiv and Alexandroupolis, 12 February 1931, 4 December 1933.

98. TsDA, f. 322k, op. 1, a.e. 897, ll. 102–103, 107, 111. Protest of Plato Koumarianos to BLA, 28 July 1937; Letter of Koumarianos to BLA, 24 April 1937; and visa application of Koumarianos, 19 April 1937.

99. IAIE, 1939, 20, 2. Request of Plato Koumarianos, 27 September 1938.

100. DA-Plovdiv, 75k, op. 1, a.e. 121, ll. 63–65. Report of the Plovdiv Security Services to DP, 29 April 1939; Warnings to Elena and Maria Koumarianos, 30 June 1939.

The increasingly tense relations between Bulgaria and Greece in the late 1930s determined the fate of this family, which, despite its ability to adapt to various challenges and navigate the expectations of both governments during the previous two decades, became a victim of diplomatic realities on the eve of World War II. Despite some room for individuals to adjust to nationalist policies and maneuver their roles in society, the state determined the degree of autonomy citizens had to negotiate with authorities. When officials abandoned the cautious nationalism of the previous period, treated individuals as "undesirables," and implemented the law mercilessly, they could render people's lives intolerable. After two decades of struggling to survive the all-encompassing nationalist culture on their own terms, these individuals became scapegoats of the hostile relations between Bulgaria and Greece. In the late 1930s vast segments of the population were marked with a certain nationality and handled accordingly; in nation-states that were increasingly expanding their jurisdictions, governments imposed their priorities and required unambiguous loyalty. Thus the shift from individual autonomy in the late 1920s to the affirmation of state rights over its citizens in the late 1930s was complete.

7

Narratives and Memories of the Past

Kosmas Mirtilos Apostolidis was a prolific Greek historian from Bulgaria who wrote extensively about the Bulgarian Greeks and their communities. Despite the national mission of the writer, his life demonstrates the conflict between public manifestations of national loyalty and private uncertainties regarding one's allegiances. Born in Plovdiv/Philippoupolis in 1870, Apostolidis worked as a teacher of the Greek language and history in his native town, traveled to Egypt, Thrace, and Greece, received his doctorate in history in Athens, specialized in archaeology in Germany, and resettled in Greece in 1915. In 1919, however, after the death of his wife, the historian, who considered himself a Greek patriot, returned to Bulgaria. Living alone and suffering from rheumatism and severe ear pain, only his research on the history of the Greeks in Bulgaria dispersed his thoughts of suicide. Apostolidis believed that his work was "a small gospel . . . to be distributed in every home of [every] . . . Greek, wherever he lives, so that he does not forget his native land."[1] He was convinced that his historical studies "besides a scientific value also have national [importance] because they attack the Bulgarians who try with all means to prove that . . . the Greeks in Philippoupolis are Hellenized Bulgarians."[2] But the historian also criticized his fellow nationals who "would not give a dime" for the nation and castigated the immigrants in Greece who "broke all connections with the past and the history [of their native places]."[3]

Apostolidis hoped to visit Athens, his "second and spiritual motherland," once more before he died, but he remained devoted to Plovdiv/Philippoupolis, his "native land" (*geneteira*), which offered a cheaper life, a

1. GAK, k111b, doc.23. Letter of Apostolidis, 3 April 1930.
2. GAK, k111b, doc.1. Letter of Apostolidis, 15 September 1929.
3. GAK, k85d, doc.207. Letter of Apostolidis, 16 November 1936.

cooler climate, the company of his dogs and birds, the warmth of his house and garden, and the help of his late wife's relatives.[4] He despised the general spirit in Bulgaria where "all Bulgarians without exception, from the high civil servant and scholar to the kid in primary school, are filled with hatred all the way down to the bone toward everything Greek."[5] But he was "moved to tears" when, after the Greek government failed to secure a pension for the ailing scholar, he was offered a position as the director of the Plovdiv Poor House where Bulgarian public funds covered his expenses.[6] In the mid-1930s, convinced that "open-minded" individuals "with superior intellectual ability" existed among Bulgarian intellectuals, he took part in an intellectual exchange between Greek and Bulgarian archaeologists and historians.[7] Yet his historical works on controversial aspects of the communal activism of the Bulgarian Greeks led to his deportation from Bulgaria in 1939. In the words of Apostolidis: "I was deported because of [my support for] the great national idea."[8] His abrupt expulsion caused severe distress to the historian who had no pension and came to work as a gatekeeper at the Archaeological Museum in Athens where he indexed the library in his free time.[9] Several months before his death, he declared: "Unwelcome, friendless, homeless, [I] suffer in [my] motherland Greece."[10]

Apostolidis was a complex figure. A loyal Greek nationalist and a devoted lover of the Bulgarian lifestyle, the historian deeply hated Bulgarian chauvinism but gratefully acknowledged Bulgarian generosity; he earnestly believed in the greatness of the Greek nation but caustically opposed the materialistic attitude of his compatriots. Apostolidis was dignified and grumpy, spiritual and earthy, cosmopolitan and provincial: he woefully complained about his ears and his bad luck with his pension, but he devotedly loved Greek history and the Hellenic spirit; he despised the militancy of Bulgarian ultra-nationalists, but he chose to live in a Bulgarian city where he was popular and respected. He faced all the predicaments of a person who tried to live as a national activist, but he could not resist the human desires for warmth, love, and comfort. With his superior intellect and touching sensitivity, he offers a refined example of the dilemma of those Greeks who wanted to stay in their native Bulgaria but also wished to remain Greek in spirit. But, more important, his case reveals that even propagandists of the national idea who genuinely believed in the righteousness of their cause

4. GAK, k111b, doc.22. Letter of Apostolidis, 28 October 1930.
5. GAK, k85d, doc.278. Letter of Apostolidis, 8 February 1930.
6. GAK, k85d, doc.241. Letter of Apostolidis, 25 September 1934.
7. GAK, k85d, doc.227 and 225. Letters of Apostolidis, 3 August and 6 September 1935.
8. IAIE, 1939, 20, 1–2; and GAK, k85d, doc.161–167. In particular, his work on the Patriarchist representative Photios, who was active in Greek community affairs in the 1900s and 1910s, led to Apostolidis's deportation, because Bulgarian authorities saw Photios's role as inciting extreme nationalism among the Greeks in Bulgaria. Photios is discussed in chapter 3, 84, 90–91.
9. Polidoros Papachristodoulou, "Obituary," *Nea Estia* 311(1942): 403–407. Apostolidis died on 20 April 1942.
10. GAK, k85d, doc. 153. Letter of Apostolidis, 24 November 1941.

did not always think or behave in national terms. While writing historical works defending the national cause, his own mundane personal experiences lacked references to his mission as a Greek patriot.

The interwar years witnessed the generous usage of national rhetoric in political documents, international promulgations, official propaganda bulletins, and memoirs of prominent figures. The discourse penetrated newspapers, educational manuals, and historical pamphlets, which were important instruments in the nationalization agenda of the Bulgarian and Greek governments.[11] But national narratives and historical accounts did not have a monopoly on how people remembered the past, interpreted their displacement, and saw the role of the nation in their daily lives. Life-changing events, such as migration, "must be accompanied by some reconsideration of the past, even if in the end people are merely confirmed in their old prejudices."[12] The crises of the interwar period, associated with migration and nationalization, led to the fundamental redefinition of existing notions of the nation, the community, and the past. Whereas the clear-cut language of national loyalty remained constant, other views spread among ordinary people who possessed less structured and more spontaneous visions of the old days. Because official accounts of national uniformity coexisted with personal searches for ways to ease the pain of displacement, memories of the past remained varied, inconsistent, and capricious.

This chapter, by adopting a broad understanding of the meaning and role of narratives, examines various forms and multiple functions of accounts talking about the past.[13] Exploring how people used the rhetoric of nation and community allows us to examine how speech is used as a rhetorical strategy relating to specific contexts. Liisa Malkki's concept of "mythico-histories" is especially useful, as it analyzes the construction of narratives as "moral and cosmological ordering stories: stories which classify the world according to certain principles." Different experiences of displacement and different social roles after resettlement could lead to the formation of different ideas about the importance of the past to one's worldview.[14] As evident in the case of the Bulgarian Greeks, diverse social groups operating in various contexts had their own visions of what was important to preserve from the past or what the role of the nation was in their life stories. Whereas some used national clichés and references to the nation to explain the choices of

11. For propaganda, see Ilchev, *Rodinata mi prava ili ne!* For history textbooks, see Christina Koulouri, ed., *Cleo in the Balkans: The Politics of History Education* (Thessaloniki, 2002).

12. Peter Loizos, *A Heart Grown Bitter: A Chronicle of Cypriot War Refugees* (Cambridge, 1981), 141.

13. For historical narratives as literary forms of storytelling that endow events with significance that they do not possess at the time of their occurrence, see Hayden White, *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism* (Baltimore, 1985), 121–134; and Hayden White, *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation* (Baltimore, 1987), 1–25.

14. Liisa Malkki, *Purity and Exile: Violence, Memory, and National Cosmology among Hutu Refugees in Tanzania* (Chicago, 1995), 54–55.

individuals or unified groups, others adopted a more personal approach to recalling the past and fitting their individual accounts in the story of the community or the nation.

By juxtaposing two types of narratives referring to the past experiences of the Greeks of Bulgaria, namely, historical pamphlets and personal recollections, it becomes obvious that people employed different lenses when they expressed their worldviews after relocation.[15] Elite historical texts used national clichés and emotional allusions to past greatness to create the impression of a uniform historical experience encompassing all fellow nationals. Two parallel historical narratives existed, reflecting the official national cause in each country; Greek authors glorified the Greeks from Bulgaria as guardians of Greek national traditions, whereas Bulgarian writers sought to erase the population's contribution to Bulgarian history. In contrast to this clear-cut national message, memoirs and personal accounts, though recalling the same past experience, were profoundly disordered and inconsistent, emphasizing the daily aspects of collective life and seeking refuge in comforting memories from the past. The significance attributed to past experiences remained rooted in the present and reflected those concerns deemed important at the time the story was being articulated. Because the past "contributed to structuring social action in the present," these narratives can only be understood as snapshots of memory capturing the aspirations of specific historical actors in specific situations.[16]

The past became both a figure of speech and a discursive weapon, as authors selectively chose to construct their narratives in ways that served their strategic purposes.[17] The formulaic historical pamphlets of intellectual elites consciously sought to create a standardized, easy-to-consume image of the nation to be disseminated in the public sphere. An unstructured personal memory spontaneously evolved as an existential search for meaning in a world turned upside down after relocation. The different forms and functions of these narratives allow us to analyze stories of the past as literary conventions that reflected the worldviews of discreet social groups. By exploring language as a script of social interaction, this chapter interrogates the purpose behind diverse idioms of the past and traces conflicting views of history, displacement, and community after relocation.

15. See the analysis of three forms of historical narratives (official histories, local histories, and personal or family histories) in Karakasidou, *Fields of Wheat, Hills of Blood,* 231–233. See also Papailias, *Genres of Representation,* who examines the works of local writers, amateur historians, and novelists.

16. Malkki, *Purity and Exile,* 104–107. See also Trouillot, *Silencing the Past.*

17. For a similar function of stereotypes, see Keith Brown and Dimitrios Theodossopoulos, "Others' Others: Talking about Stereotypes and Constructions of Otherness in Southeast Europe," *History and Anthropology* 15 (2004): 5.

What Is a Nation?

How events of the past acquired meaning consistent with the authors' current needs is most apparent in political documents using historical analysis. The interwar years saw an intense debate between various social and political groups in Bulgaria and Greece regarding how to interpret the past relations between the two countries and the two peoples. Torn between conflicting political agendas and competing financial interests, politicians and historians realized that they could not normalize their current dealings without "clearing up the past" (*ekkatharinsi parelthontos*).[18] But because political experts, scholarly figures, and community activists representing the two sides disagreed in their interpretations of history, renditions of the national encounters between Bulgarians and Greeks remained contested, as did the very definition of a "Bulgarian" and a "Greek." The use of history acquired the strategic function of projecting meaning and intention onto past events deemed relevant to current controversies. The political context of the articulation of these narratives explains the use of clear-cut stereotypes to create homogenized accounts that concealed all ambiguities in the past experience.

Historical interpretations were closely related to the financial claims of the two governments and especially to the contested issue of how to deal with the properties of the Bulgarian and Greek religious communities that were left behind when the two minorities emigrated in the early 1920s.[19] When experts in the Mixed Commission started liquidating these properties in 1926, the two sides collected information about the legal status, history, and function of the "community" (*obshtina* in Bulgarian, *koinotita* in Greek) as an institution. After the Mixed Commission ended its work in 1931, the two governments continued their discussions in a series of talks throughout the 1930s. Between 1926 and the late 1930s, experts working for each side produced various definitions of the nation, the community, and national history.

During the negotiations, Greek and Bulgarian representatives assembled diverse evidence to support their conflicting visions of how to deal with the communities and their assets.[20] The Greek members of the Mixed Commission and Greek leaders in Bulgaria collected information concerning the properties and legal status of the communities, and associations in

18. IAIE, 1930, A/6/V. Vogazlis to IE, 10 August 1928.

19. As discussed in chapter 6, 197–199, the 89 Greek communities and 299 Bulgarian communities abandoned significant properties in the other country once their community members emigrated.

20. Works include Papadopoulos, "Ta dikaia"; D. K. Vogazlis, "Ellinikes thriskevtikes koinotites stin Tourkia, Voulgaria kai Anatoliki Romilia," *ATLGT* 10 (1943–44): 51–64; D. K. Vogazlis, "Ellinika monastiria kai theretra tis Voreinis Rodopis," *ATLGT* 4 (1947–48): 99–156; and Kiril Popov, *Konventsiiata za vzaimno izselvane mezhdu Bâlgariia i Gârtsiia i sporât ni s gârtsite za cherkvi, uchilishta i manastiri* (Sofia, 1935). These authors were legal experts in the Mixed Commission, and their published works reflect their arguments presented at the negotiations.

Greece offered assistance in documenting the lost assets of their groups. Bulgarian officials recruited local Greeks willing to help, while scholars collected evidence concerning the Bulgarian role in the maintenance and financing of the buildings.[21] The stakes were high because urban communities possessed substantial properties. For instance, the Greek community in Kavakli (today Topolovgrad) listed in its property liquidation request filed with the Mixed Commission three churches, nine chapels, four cemeteries, one school, one house, one mill, eleven fields, three orchards, eight wooded lots, five lawns, and twenty four water fountains, together with all the crosses, icons, books, church bells, and ecclesiastical objects belonging to the churches.[22] Some communities had multiple properties such as the twenty three churches and three monasteries in Melnik/Meleniko, the eleven churches in Mesemvria, and the eight churches and one monastery in Stanimaka/Stenimachos.[23] In addition to legal documents proving property rights, experts collected historical evidence in parish records, inscriptions on buildings and icons, manuscripts in monastery libraries, archaeological artifacts, and testimonies of individuals involved in community affairs. The importance of historical evidence became clear in the controversy related to the Saint Vrach Monastery near Kuklen/Kouklaina. During their exploratory trips, Bulgarian scholars recovered icons with Bulgarian inscriptions dating to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, which Greek monks had allegedly covered up with stucco, in 1862, and decorated with new icons with Greek inscriptions. Experts presented such discoveries as evidence during their discussions in the Mixed Commission related to compensation for communal property.[24]

During these discussions history professionals testified and put forth historical interpretations to support the agendas of their countries. Bulgarian representatives claimed that all Orthodox Christian inhabitants of the Ottoman Empire who were under the authority of the Patriarchate, Bulgarians and Greeks alike, had funded and built the churches and schools of the Greek communities in Bulgaria. For that reason, the buildings belonged to all Orthodox Christians in their respective territories, and not to the Bulgarian or the Greek nation. Moreover, the number of Bulgarians in each locality by far exceeded the number of Greeks that used the buildings, which represented a glaring injustice enacted under Ottoman rule. Because of this injustice, during the Bulgarian struggle for religious independence

21. DA-Burgas, f. 212k, op. 1, a.e. 105, ll. 46–47. Declaration of Iraklis Diamandopoulos on behalf of the Greek community in Anhialo, 18 July 1927; DA-Plovdiv, f. 29k, op. 1, a.e. 182, ll. 6–7, 39. The Plovdiv Municipality concerning the declaration of Diamandopoulos, 13 April and 23 December 1927; and IAIE, 1933, A/6/Va. File "Greek Community in Varna" for 1925–33.

22. TsDA, f. 719k, op. 14, a.e. 413, ll. 4–15. Liquidation files of the Kavakli community filed with the Salonica sub-commission, 11 November 1926.

23. TsDA, f. 719k, op. 14, a.e. 413, l. 17. List of the churches declared by Greek communities. Urban communities, such as Varna and Plovdiv/Philippoupolis, possessed massive properties. See TsDA, f. 719k, op. 21, a.e. 626 and 629, respectively.

24. TsDA, f. 719k, op. 26, a.e. 1, ll. 101–102. Bulg. rep. to MVRI, 5 July 1929.

from the Greek-dominated Patriarchate in the mid-1800s, Bulgarians seized Patriarchist churches and schools that had been erected with their funds and labor. But Greek experts responded that the community was a uniquely Greek national institution that existed for the sole purpose of buttressing the nationality of its Greek members and supporting the Greek national cause in the Ottoman Empire through education, religious service, and philanthropy. Even after the creation of the Exarchate in 1870 and the establishment of the Bulgarian state in 1878, these communities had remained under the authority of the Patriarchate. Because Bulgaria acquired independence from the Ottoman Empire only in 1908, the Greek communities in Bulgarian territory were under the sovereignty of the Sultan before that time. Bulgarian representatives, however, insisted that in 1878 the Bulgarian people had changed the Ottoman status quo by creating a separate Bulgarian state, which possessed its own constitution and recognized the spiritual authority of the Exarchate, not the Patriarchate.[25]

Experts also resorted to legal arguments based on their interpretation of the Convention for Emigration, debating whether the communities were legal entities under the civil law with the ability to possess property under the Ottoman and Bulgarian civil codes. The Bulgarian lawyers dissected the term *communautés* used in the Convention, insisting that the religious communities from Ottoman times did not have the same rights as private individuals or legal entities. But Greek attorneys maintained that the communities had preserved their legal status and privileges even after the establishment of the Exarchate in 1870 and the Principality of Bulgaria in 1878. This argument was supported by the fact that Bulgarian officials and notaries had continued to recognize the Greek communities as legal entities, to issue title deeds in their name, and to allow private individuals to transfer property to the communities up until 1906. Bulgarian lawyers responded that if Greek institutions had continued to function in Bulgaria after the unification of 1885, this signified Bulgarian tolerance but did not create any rights for the communities.[26]

A final flash point concerned the dissolution of the communities. In order to liquidate the property of a community, the Convention required that its members emigrate which would result in the dissolution of the community due to the termination of its normal functions. If the buildings continued to operate, however, the liquidation of property was not allowed. In the Bulgarian view, because Greek communities in Bulgaria were dissolved

25. Papadopoulos, "Ta dikaia," 78–79; Vogazlis, "Ellinikes thriskevtikes koinotites," 56–57, 63–64; and Popov, *Konventsiiata,* 21–22, 25, 49–50.

26. Papadopoulos, "Ta dikaia," 79; Vogazlis, "Ellinikes thriskevtikes koinotites," 58–59; Popov, *Konventsiiata,* 12–14; IAIE, 1930, A/6/V. Dr. D. K. Wogazli, *L'Hellenisme de la Bulgarie du Sud (avant Rumelie Orientale) et plus specialement de Philippoupoli ou Plovdiv* (Sofia, 1929), 62–63; IAIE, 1931, A/6/V, 3. Report concerning the properties of the Greek communities in Bulgaria, 7 December 1930; Opinion of Professor Konstantinos Triandaphilopoulos, 28 February 1930; and TsDA, f. 719k, op. 26, a.e. 5, ll. 95–106. Bulg. rep. to MVRI, 28 March 1930.

during the anti-Greek movement in 1906, and not as a result of emigration in the 1920s, and because the Bulgarians in these communities continued to use the buildings for religious and educational purposes, there were no grounds for liquidation. But Greek experts countered that, in 1906, the Greek communities were dissolved de facto when the Patriarchist clergy had to leave Bulgaria, as the communities no longer performed the national functions for which they were established. For this reason the Mixed Commission should consider them to be dissolved de jure and arrange the liquidation of their properties in favor of the state ethnically akin to the communities. For the Bulgarian experts, all members of a community had to have emigrated in their entirety and the parish had to have ceased to exist for it to be dissolved, but, according to their Greek colleagues, the community disappeared when it stopped functioning as a Greek national institution.[27]

Ultimately the talks focused on the definition of a "community." Both sides agreed with the Mixed Commission that, traditionally, the purpose of a community was to preserve the minority character of its members by maintaining religious, educational, and philanthropic establishments, but they differed on the principles of its organization. Bulgarian experts insisted that the minority status of the communities should be determined by considering "the bulk of the local Orthodox population that contributed to their creation and maintenance and . . . the fact that, until 1870, all inhabitants of the Ottoman Empire of Greek Orthodox religion . . . were called Greeks." Greek representatives maintained that the community's "original purpose . . . [was] to serve as [a] national organ for the racial minority that established it."[28] The Bulgarian representatives understood the community as a *religious* community of all Orthodox Christians within the Ottoman Empire regardless of nationality, but their Greek counterparts defined it as a *national* community of people who considered themselves Greeks. According to the Bulgarian view, all Orthodox Christians—Bulgarians, Greeks, and others—participated in the community without a national distinction. In the Greek opinion, the members of the community should belong not only to the same religion but also to the same nationality, as their goal was to support the community as a national, or Greek, institution.[29]

This difference of opinion affected how the two sides defined "nationality." Greek experts relied on cultural arguments depicting the continuity of the Greek presence in Bulgarian territory "for three thousand years, always as carriers of civilization" and portraying the Greek communities as

27. Papadopoulos, "Ta dikaia," 79; Vogazlis, "Ellinikes thriskevtikes koinotites," 51–59; Popov, *Konventsiiata*, 12–14, 33, 36–37; IAIE, 1930, A/6/V. Vogazlis to IE, 10 August 1928, 18–20; IAIE, 1931, A/6/V, file 3. Opinion of Triandaphilopoulos, 28 February 1930; and TsDA, f. 176k, op. 6, a.e. 1893, ll. 506–517. Bulg. rep. to MVRI, 30 July 1931.

28. TsDA, f. 719k, op. 26, a.e. 6, ll. 159–203. Advisory Opinion No. 17 of The Hague Court of International Justice, 31 July 1931, 16, 18–19.

29. For these definitions, see TsDA, f. 719k, op. 26, a.e. 5, ll. 95–106. Bulg. rep. to MVRI, 28 March 1930; IAIE, 1930, A/6/V. Vogazlis to MVRI, 10 August 1928, 17; and IAIE, 1931, A/6/V, file 3. Opinion of Triandaphilipoulos, 28 February 1930.

superior cultural organizations that buttressed the Greek spirit throughout the centuries.[30] But while emphasizing the continuity of the Greek tradition over time, they also introduced a voluntaristic principle of nationality by insisting that "the constitutive element of the nation is [national] consciousness and [the national] feelings of every [member]." According to that logic, the fact that people with Bulgarian names who speak the Bulgarian language belong to the "Greek Church," namely the Patriarchate, was proof of their Greek nationality as they had consciously chosen to be Greek.[31]

But Bulgarian representatives chided their Greek colleagues for treating Bulgarian history "as if until [the creation of the Bulgarian Exarchate in] 1870 there were no Bulgarians in Bulgaria under the Ottoman yoke." Instead, they promoted factors such as descent, name-giving traditions, and language, which allowed them to trace individuals' Bulgarian nationality since before the emergence of the Bulgarian national movement. They contended that, according to religious rules, the Patriarchate had never been a "Greek Church" but had always been presumed to protect the rights of all Orthodox Christians, regardless of nationality.[32] This interpretation adopted both essentialist and constructionist views of nationality, allowing for changes over time but also maintaining a primordial view of national belonging. According to this opinion, when the Patriarchate started acting as an organ of Greek propaganda and its bishops tried to Grecisize the non-Greek population, the "awakened" Bulgarians took control of the religious establishments and requested a separate Bulgarian Church, proving that their "consciousness" was Bulgarian.[33] Both sides allowed for crossings between their national traditions but also insisted on the existence of a core, primordial nation defined by origins and blood.

Financial considerations clearly influenced these interpretations of nationality and history that presented clear-cut visions of the messy past encounters of Bulgarians and Greeks, now reimagined as well-defined nations since distant times. Greek experts depicted a primordial nation that had survived all historical challenges since antiquity and anachronistically presented the religious Patriarchist communities as "Greek." Bulgarian experts criticized Greek essentialism which assumed that all Patriarchists were members of the Greek nation, proposing, instead, that the Bulgarian nation had "awakened" during the "Revival Period." But this assumption that the "Grecisized" Slavs were "pure" Bulgarians, while allowing for choice between the two national cultures, also relied on primordial ideas of nationhood as destiny. Experts perpetuated a sanitized image of history that

30. Vogazlis, "Ellinika monastiria," 101; Vogazlis, "Ellinikes thriskevtikes koinotites."
31. IAIE, 1930, A/6/V. Wogazli, *L'Hellenisme de la Bulgarie du Sud*, 29.
32. Popov, *Konventsiiata,* 20, 22–32.
33. TsDA, f. 719l, op. 21, a.e. 632, l. 149, passim. *Communauté religieuse de Plovdiv. Expose de Membre Bulgare K. Popoff* (Sofia, 1929), in response to the report of Vogazlis found in IAIE, 1930, A/6/V. Wogazli, *L'Hellenisme de la Bulgarie du Sud*.

eliminated all ambiguous interpretations and focused on a primordial nation that encompassed all the experiences and life choices of individuals.

Silencing the Past

The function of national narratives to create dividing lines between groups and to affirm the rights of one national group over the other was also evident in popular historical accounts published in the interwar years. During this time history writing continued to be a professional engagement that combined the authors' sincere patriotism with a messianic responsibility for the nation. Authors created "canonized and homogenized" accounts of the past that clearly served the national cause.[34] After Bulgaria's territorial losses in Macedonia and Western Thrace, and Greece's losses in Asia Minor and Eastern Thrace, the most prominent features of the historical traditions in both countries were the pronounced national frustration and anxious search for redemption. Authors focused on the re-creation of an illustrious past while also propagating a vision of a glorious future. Bulgarian national activists sought territorial changes in the Balkans, while their Greek colleagues defended the territorial status quo; both, however, reached back into history and strove to preserve the memory of their lost native lands in order to justify their current political concerns and ideological positions. In both cases history served as the tool for promoting the national cause, and authors endowed the nation with the moral authority to structure all aspects of the past, explain all occurrences in the present, and guide all developments in the future. As far as the Greeks in Bulgaria were concerned, the contrast in interpretation was striking, creating two very different "textual communities" that selectively chose elements from the past.[35] Bulgarian authors were silent regarding the Greeks, erasing the minority from Bulgarian history or trying to prove that many Greeks were Grecisized Bulgarians. Greek writers created sophisticated historical accounts detailing the illustrious past of the Greek communities in the lands they continued to call Northern Thrace or Eastern Rumelia, not Bulgaria.

The historical production of cultural societies dedicated to the "lost motherlands" and their historical and ethnographic journals typified this black-and-white, generic view of history that depicted past events in an uncompromising language. In Bulgaria the Macedonian Cultural Center and the Thracian Scientific Institute, and their respective scholarly periodicals, *Makedonski pregled* and *Izvestiia na Trakiĭskiia Nauchen Institut*, provided a public forum for historians to promote territorial revisionism by emphasizing Greek injustices in Macedonia and Thrace. These were patriotic but decidedly anti-Greek authors who originated from these two formerly Ottoman provinces and found intellectual inspiration in their pro-Bulgarian

34. Karakasidou, *Fields of Wheat, Hills of Blood*, 231, 235–237.
35. Brown, *The Past in Question*, 11.

activism during Ottoman times or in their refugee experience during the wars. Because of their past, they embraced a clear-cut view of the Greek nation, conflating the image of the Greek minority in Bulgaria with that of the treacherous Greek nation that had caused all the misfortunes in their native places. Some of these authors, notably Ivan Altânov and Anastas Razboĭnikov, were from what had become Greek Thrace and explicitly worked to further the Bulgarian revisionist agenda in that area. Another category was comprised of professional historians such as Ivan Batakliev and Stoiu Shishkov, who also wrote popular works to disseminate among their compatriots what they considered the correct vision of history. Finally, community leaders recorded their own versions of the past, producing a large number of popular pamphlets dedicated to their local communities. An examination of these popular narratives, which complimented the official view of history but were written with ordinary people in mind, allows a glimpse into the historical ideas that circulated at the local level and shows how normative historical interpretations structured local renditions of the past.

Bulgarian popular pamphlets on historical topics from the interwar years generally lacked any reference to the history or current affairs of the Greek population. Instead, they sought to create a new, Bulgarian image for areas that had previously been known as exclusively Greek. This tendency was apparent in local histories of the Black Sea, which strove to erase the Greek contribution to the history of the area. Authors disregarded the Greeks in every work concerning the region and instead emphasized that the seacoast had always been a part of the Bulgarian national community.[36] They highlighted the priority of local, and not Greek, inhabitants and cultures, and focused on the Thracians, the indigenous population in parts of the Balkan Peninsula that had predated the Greeks in many areas where Greek city-states had established colonies in ancient times. The official Bulgarian interpretations of history claimed that in isolated areas this indigenous population survived the Roman and barbaric incursions, so that the Thracians blended with the proto-Bulgarians and Slavs to form the ethnic basis of the medieval Bulgarian state.[37] In line with this view, pamphleteers claimed that the Black Sea coastline, before it was colonized by the ancient Greeks, constituted a Thracian land that had decisively influenced the Greek colonizers. Some recalled: "Times existed when, during the [Ottoman] yoke, the Greek language almost suffocated the Bulgarian, when the Bulgarian person was ashamed to speak his maternal tongue, when he forgot that after the

36. Traianov, *Rodnoto more;* Anastas Razboĭnikov, *Grad Sozopol i letuvaneto na plovdivskata detska koloniia* (Plovdiv, 1927); Anastas Razboĭnikov, *Cherno more.Geogravsko opisanie. Knizhka za kursisti i uchiteli* (Plovdiv, 1931); Ivan Batakliev, *Nashiiat chernomorski briag. Geografski pregled* (Varna, 1932); Aleksi pop Marinov, *Moreto i nasheto kraĭbrezhie. Ot Kaliakra do Rezovo* (Varna, 1937).

37. For this interpretation of the formation of the Bulgarian nation, see Dimitâr Angelov, *Obrazuvane na bâlgarskata narodnost* (Sofia, 1971).

Thracians came the Slavs [that is, the Bulgarians], and that he, the Bulgarian, was the master of the blue coast."[38] Others opined that "a large number of Greek families [in Bulgaria] is of Bulgarian origin, because they had once been Thracians," presenting the Greeks as Hellenized Thracians rather than heirs of the ancient or Byzantine Greeks.[39] Some writers did not deny the Greek colonists' contribution to the history of the Black Sea but attributed it to the "internationalism" and "cosmopolitanism" of historical experiences in the area. Detailing the existence of Phoenician, Illyrian, Roman, Byzantine, Slavic, Italian, and Bulgarian traditions, they maintained that "none of the neighboring peoples has ever made the Black Sea its own."[40]

There was a contradiction in these popular accounts, which traced Bulgarian history on the Black Sea coast back to ancient times but admitted that the Black Sea "has never been as Bulgarian in the past as [it is] now."[41] The purpose of these works was to popularize the Black Sea among ordinary Bulgarians. Another aim was to promote economic development in the area, because, after Bulgaria had failed to acquire access to the Aegean in World War I, the Black Sea had become vital for the economic growth of the country.[42] Authors emphasized the need to develop tourism on the Black Sea and to turn Varna, Burgas/Pirgos, Sozopol/Sozoupolis, and Anhialo/Anchialos into profitable resorts.[43] The general spirit of these accounts was informed by the conviction that the "Bulgarization [*pobâlgariavaneto*] of . . . the entire Bulgarian seashore is no doubt mandatory . . . but [it has to] occur wisely and with foresight for the future. The Bulgarian people have long been isolated and pushed out of the seashores. It is high time we created our own maritime culture."[44] To counter Greek assertions that the Bulgarians were an agricultural population with no inklings for sea life, the writers insisted that "no nations are born sailors" and emphasized that "only the peaceful and steady development of the Bulgarian people in the free Bulgarian state will make us sailors [and] will secure our domination over the Black Sea."[45] All these histories heralded the seashore in a patriotic manner that, rather than providing knowledge about the past, stressed the potential of the future and depicted the romanticism of Bulgarian progress in the area.

38. pop Marinov, *Moreto,* 51.

39. Razboĭnikov, *Grad Sozopol,* 25; Zheko Iv. Zhekov, *Odesus (Stara Varna)* (Varna, 1932). Thracian tribes inhabited Thrace from the Aegean to the Black Sea and founded numerous political formations that had encounters with Greek colonizers. In Bulgaria the historical discipline Thracology deals with the history of the Thracians in antiquity. See Alexander Fol and Ivan Marazov, *Thrace and the Thracians* (New York, 1977).

40. Razboĭnikov, *Cherno more,* 11.

41. Ibid., 41.

42. Târgovsko-industrialna kamara, *Memoar vârhu polozhenieto na grad Varna sled Bukureshtkiia mir* (Sofia, 1917).

43. Dr. St. Popov, *Kurortna Varna* (Varna, 1925); Ivan Stoianov and Vasil Stavrev, *Varna. Gradât i okolnostite* (Varna, 1930); P. Bianov, *Varna- moderen grad i moderno letovishte!* (Varna, 1933); Nikolaĭ Dermishkov, *Perlite na slâncheviia grad Varna i okolnostite i* (Varna, 1938); Tsvetan Andreev, *Pâtevoditel na Burgas* (Burgas, 1941).

44. Razboĭnikov, *Grad Sozopol,* 62.

45. Razboĭnikov, *Cherno more,* 39, 41.

In the Plovdiv/Philippoupolis district, authors focused on the Bulgarian struggle against Greek cultural and religious influence in the nineteenth century as an example of the glorious "rebirth" of the Bulgarian nation.[46] The historical legacy of this important city in Thrace, which Philip II of Macedon took from the Thracian tribes and renamed in the fourth century BCE, was fundamental for the assertion of Bulgarian national confidence. The nineteenth century had seen intense competition between Bulgarian and Greek loyalists over the city's Orthodox Christian institutions.[47] Lectures and popular publications from the interwar period diligently disseminated the splendid story of national emancipation during the "Revival Period" (*Vâzrazhdane*) when the Bulgarians "rediscovered" their "true" national roots.[48] Such narratives claimed that during the Ottoman period the pro-Greek Patriarchate "killed the national consciousness of the Bulgarians [and] Grecisized [*gârtsizirali*] them." According to popular accounts, which were in line with official historical interpretations, the Patriarchist clergy purposefully attempted to de-nationalize the Bulgarians while boosting "the strength and demographic potential of the supposed Greek element [in the area]," implying that the Greeks there were nothing else but Grecisized Bulgarians.[49] Authors emphasized the Thracian and Slavic presence in the Plovdiv/Philippoupolis region and claimed that the local population of non-Greek origins had remained undiluted throughout the centuries. This reference to the Thracian tribes allowed Bulgarian writers to claim chronological primacy over the Greeks, emphasizing that the Bulgarian national tradition proudly rivaled that of the Greeks in the development of the area since antiquity.[50] By drawing a straight line between the ancient Thracians (*traki*) and the contemporary inhabitants of the area (*trakiĭtsi*), authors claimed

46. Stoiu Shishkov, *Plovdiv v svoeto blizko i dalechno minalo. Istoriko-etnografski i politicheski pregled* (Plovdiv, 1921); Stoiu Shishkov, *Plovdiv v svoeto minalo i nastoiashte. Istoriko-etnografski i politiko-ekonomicheski pregled* (Plovdiv, 1926).

47. See Irena Iancheva, *Etnologiia na Vâzrozhdenskiia Plovdiv vârhu periodichniia pechat* (Plovdiv, 1996); Shivachev, *Ochertsi iz istoriiata na Plovdiv;* and Ploumidis, *Ethnotiki simviosi sta Balkania.* Various names exist for this city dating back to Neolithic times. The local Thracian tribes called it Pulpudeva, Philip II renamed it Philippoupolis, and the Romans called it Trimontium when they took it over in the first century CE. After its incorporation into the Ottoman Empire, the city was called Filibe. In the nineteenth century, Bulgarian activists promoted the name Plovdiv based on the Thracian Pulpudeva to challenge the Greek name Philippoupolis and Greek claims over the city.

48. The "Revival Period" (*Vâzrazhdane*) refers to the period of Bulgarian "national awakening" in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. See Genchev, *Bâlgarsko Vâzrazhdane.* For the importance of the period in Bulgarian historiography, see Roumen Daskalov, *The Making of a Nation in the Balkans: Historiography of the Bulgarian Revival* (Budapest, 2004). For an account on Plovdiv, see A. T. Giaurov, *Kratki belezhki za minaloto i segashnoto na grad Plovdiv* (Plovdiv, 1899). For interwar histories, see Dimitâr Tsonchev, *Prinos kâm starata istoriia na Plovdiv* (Sofia, 1938); V. Peev, *Grad Plovdiv. Minalo i nastoiashte, Plovdiv v minaloto. Drevniiat grad* (Plovdiv, 1941); Ivan Batakliev, *Tatar-Pazardzhik. Istoriko-geografski ocherk* (Sofia, 1923); and A. Krushkov and I. Nachev, *Spomen ot Plovdiv* (1936).

49. Shishkov, *Plovdiv v svoeto minalo i nastoiashte,* 115.

50. Ibid.; and Shishkov, *Plovdiv v svoeto blizko i dalechno minalo.*

that Thrace, the ancestral land of most Bulgarian Greeks, belonged to the Bulgarian nation and no one else.

Narratives focusing on the Varna district also analyzed conflicts between Greeks and Bulgarians by referring to the "double Turkish-Greek yoke" that Bulgarians endured during the Ottoman period. In this view, the Greek clergy during Ottoman times was responsible for destroying the historical memory of Bulgarians' past greatness.[51] Here authors elaborated on the origins of the Gagauz population, the Turkish-speaking Orthodox Christians whom Greek nationalists claimed were Greeks because they were affiliated with the Patriarchate. Bulgarian authors promoted the thesis that this hybrid population was the successor of the proto-Bulgarians of Asparuh, the founder of the Bulgarian state who defeated the Byzantine Empire in 681 CE and formed an alliance with Slavic tribes to lay the foundations of the medieval Bulgarian state. According to this view, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the Patriarchist clergy consciously tried to Grecisize this population: "The main purpose [of Greek propaganda] was to convince the youth that everything superior in this world was Greek [and that] there is no greater nation than the Greek nation." As a result, these original Bulgarians "became Gagauz-isized [*se pogagauzval*] and later Grecisized [*pogârchval*]."[52] With the utilization of the intermediate category of "Gagauz-isation" in their vocabulary, national activists tried to distinguish the Gagauz from the Greeks, but by doing so they also admitted that the Gagauz were different from the Bulgarians. Nonetheless, histories of the Varna area implied that, because the Greek elites weakened the Bulgarian national body by recruiting "authentic" Bulgarians for the Greek cause, the national imperialism of the Greek state and the religious domination of the Patriarchate diluted the Bulgarian nation.

As much as authors focused on the past, they consciously ignored the recent history of the Greeks in Bulgaria. Every local history or popular pamphlet written in the 1920s and 1930s disregarded the consequences of the 1885 unification of the Principality of Bulgaria with Eastern Rumelia as limiting Greek autonomous rights in Bulgaria and also failed to mention the 1906 anti-Greek events that led to the dissolution of the Greek communities. Bulgarians chose not to remember the tragic episodes of 1906 that tarnished their reputation as a tolerant nation. This trend, embraced by teachers, local activists, and ethnographers, erased an important aspect of the Greek population's past in Bulgaria. Authors trivialized human tragedies and referred to the common past of Bulgarians and Greeks as distant and irrelevant to the present. In the end such works portrayed the Greeks as a foreign element in Bulgarian history, silenced the common history of

51. Karel Shkorpil, *V zashtita na bâlgarskata narodna starina* (Varna, 1924).

52. V. P. Gochev, *Varna* (Sofia, 1931), 13; Arhimandrit Inokentiĭ, *Koi sa bile korennite zhiteli na grad Varna* (Varna, 1930); Petâr Nikov, *Bâlgarsko vâzrazhdane vâv Varna i varnensko. Mitropolit Ioakim i negovata korespondentsiia* (Sofia, 1934), 48.

Greeks and Bulgarians throughout the centuries, and erased the Greek community from the Bulgarian collective memory.

Writing the Nation

History writing in Greece also reflected the trauma of war and displacement. The tragedy of loss in Asia Minor and Pontos, in 1923, created an urgent need to record and preserve traditions from places forever lost to the Greek nation but that could be salvaged for the Greek spirit. In addition to the Organization for Asia Minor Studies, the Organization for Pontian Studies, and the Organization for Macedonian Studies, to name a few, the Organization for Thracian Studies and the scholarly journals *Thrakika* and *Archeion tou Thrakikou glossikou kai laographikou thisavrou* recorded the history of the Bulgarian Greeks.[53] Some authors, such as Dimitris Vogazlis and Emmanouil Papadopoulos, who were involved in property negotiations with Bulgaria, replicated in their publications the arguments they had used during those talks. Others, like Apostolos Doxiadis, Adamandios Diamandopoulos, and Margaritis Konstantinidis, had been teachers or community activists in Bulgaria and now actively participated in communal affairs in Greece. The professional historians Mirtilos Apostolidis and Polidoros Papachristodoulou meticulously recorded all aspects of Greek life, knowing they had to counter Bulgarian historians who sought to erase Greek contributions from history. Finally, authors such as Drakos Mavrommatis wrote their histories from the viewpoint of association leaders who wished to buttress the financial claims of their communities. These works served a dual function; they strove to affirm the Greek cultural superiority in the lost ancestral lands while also charting a new relationship between the new Greek citizens and the Greek state after resettlement. Most authors referred to their native places as "Eastern Rumelia" or "Northern Thrace" rather than Bulgaria, and they called the population "Romelians" (*Romeliotes*) or "Thracians" (*Thrakes*) rather than Greeks. These terms not only revealed an intense competition with Bulgarian scholars over who had the right to claim the history of Thrace, but they also showed the persistence of local allegiances, rather than national appellations, among a population that still felt like outsiders in Greece.

When the scholarly journal *Thrakika* first appeared in 1928, its founders explicitly stated: "We have the duty to be active, we are obliged to save the soul of Thrace." Works published in the journal served the "urgent national need" to preserve "everything that directly or indirectly [wa]s connected to the life and appearance of Thrace, whether written, oral, monuments, language, tradition, [or] custom."[54] When the second periodical *Archeion*

53. The Greek name of the organization is *Etaireia Thrakikon Meleton*. In 1978 the two journals merged and became *Archeion Thrakis*.

54. *Thrakika* 1 (1928): 1–2.

tou Thrakikou glossikou kai laographikou thisavrou surfaced in 1934, it professed a similarly "fine national endeavor" to publish any "precious and deserving material . . . that will bring to surface valuable archaeological and historical findings" from the area.[55] In addition to what they called Northern Thrace, now roughly southern Bulgaria, historians documented the past of Eastern Thrace in what became Turkey, creating the perception of an authentically Greek region that had been unjustly plundered by two of Greece's mortal enemies. The authors were well aware that not only were they disseminating knowledge about the past, they were also creating it, for "who would believe that this land was primarily Greek, from the mythical years of Orpheus to yesterday's testimonies of those massacred for the Greek idea, [since] this land has never been studied in accordance with the place and distinction it has had in . . . the Greek lands."[56] Writers worried that Bulgarian archaeologists and historians, educated abroad, well-connected, and "working for their motherland to prove the historical rights of the Bulgarians," published studies in foreign languages that "forged history" and "twisted the truth."[57] This concern with Bulgarian scholars, combined with the fear that the idiosyncrasy of the Thracian Greeks could be lost in the melting pot of the Greek nation-state, led to ambitious plans for the reconstruction of their history and traditions. Many authors, who originated from Bulgaria, had inside knowledge of Greek affairs in the past, and so they published various historical, ethnographic, and linguistic studies about their beloved Eastern Rumelia.[58]

Studies of Plovdiv/Philippoupolis, Stanimaka/Stenimachos, Anhialo/Anchialos, Mesemvria, and Sozopol/Sozoupolis from the interwar years created a linear historical model by tracing the continuity of the Greek presence in these lands from antiquity until recent times.[59] Authors diligently recorded all archaeological remnants from the ancient Greeks' colonization of the Black Sea and Thrace and claimed that the findings proved Greek historical rights to these territories. They enumerated the Byzantine monuments, fortifications, and churches that testified to the glories of Greek diplomacy and culture in the midst of barbarian invasions in the early Middle Ages. The works emphasized the Greek cultural influence on the backward Thracian tribes and the illiterate Slavic invaders that sought the destruction of a superior culture. They underscored the vitality of the Greek Orthodox

55. *ATLGT* 1 (1934–35): 1–2.

56. *Thrakika* 1 (1928): 1–2.

57. Konstantinos Amandios, *Oi Voreioi geitones tis Ellados. Voulgaroi, Alvanoi, Notioslavoi* (Athens, 1923), 110.

58. See the indexes in *Thrakika* 20 (1944): 219–244; and *ATLGT* 30 (1964): 451–472.

59. Some studies include Konstantinidis, *I Mesemvria tou Evxinou;* Papaioannidou, *Istoria tis en Ponto Apollonias;* Mavrommatis, *I Anchialos mes'apo tis phloges;* and Apostolidis, *O Stenimachos,* as well as his numerous articles about Plovdiv/Philippoupolis in *Thrakika* and *ATLGT* published, after his death, in *I tis Philippoupoleos istoria.* See also Apostolidis, "Ta aitia"; and *Voulgaroi i Ellines isan oi Kariotai?* The absence of a history of Varna is striking and perhaps explained by the fact that the city was not in Thrace and thus did not attract the attention of the journals.

religion during the Ottoman period and its contribution to the preservation of Christianity in the Balkans, highlighting the Greek role in the survival of the region under Muslim rule. Turning to the nineteenth century, the period witnessing heightened national passions among Bulgarians and Greeks, historians described the Greek communal organization of self-government, education, religion, and charity, and emphasized the dedication to the national idea among the entire Greek population in the Ottoman realms. Usually these narratives ended with the Bulgarian campaigns of 1885 that had abolished the autonomous status of Greek communities, or with the anti-Greek movement of 1906 that had resulted in the seizures of most Greek churches; both examples proved official Bulgaria's conscious attempt to exterminate the Greek element in its territory. The overall tone of these histories expressed a sense of belonging to a superior civilization and foreshadowed its unjust eradication by newcomers with no historical consciousness or appreciation for the sophisticated achievements of the unbroken Greek tradition.

These authors passionately believed in the national idea and wanted to proselytize those Greeks that disregarded their national duty or hesitated to embrace their heritage. They charted an imagined common vision of all Greeks formerly residing in Bulgaria and exalted the vitality of their national spirit: "The [Greek] religious communities served as sanctuaries and beehives for their members, as connecting bolts that linked the past with the present, the present with the future, knowledge with hope, church with school . . . and philanthropy . . . , and everything culminated in the national consciousness and national solidarity [of all Greeks]."[60] Such works implicitly asked, who would hesitate to be a part of such a noble national community with such a superior culture and social organization? These renditions forgot, however, that, in the past, belonging to the community did not coincide with belonging to the nation or that many Greeks had disagreed with official Greece. Instead of dwelling on these fine nuances, authors preferred to present easily digestible narratives of national glory and martyrdom. Mirtilos Apostolidis summed up the attitude of Greek intellectuals: "[In Bulgaria] not only the children and the uneducated but also the so-called scholars and scientists, blinded by racial passion, use [the expression] Gypsy language (*tsiganski ezik*) to refer to the divine language of Plato and the Holy Gospels, of the arts and sciences, this linguistic treasury that has enriched and continues to enrich each European language except the Bulgarian. O sancta simplicitas!"[61] Contrasting the superiority of the Greeks with the savagery of the Bulgarians created the awareness of their status as a people under siege that could only find salvation in unified national action. Recalling the Bulgarian policies of assimilation, Apostolos Doxiadis described the ravaged history of two cities: "The new generation

60. Vogazlis, "Ellinikes thriskevtikes koinotites," 63–64.
61. Apostolidis, "Ta aitia," 71.

will read the history of Stenimachos, search the map of the Balkans, and be surprised that it cannot find the city. In its place is Asenovgrad, the city of Asen. The same with Philippoupolis. . . . It will read the history of the ancient Greeks . . . it will examine the maps. In vain. On the shore of the Evros River [Maritsa in Bulgarian], it will find a big, beautiful, thriving city called Plovdiv."[62] The author saw the transformation of these cities in the last several decades as their national death, a view that all Greek historians shared and disseminated among their co-nationals.

This tendency to project visions of national glory onto the past explains the authors' interpretation of recent events. According to these narratives, after the establishment of the Bulgarian state, all Greeks were "forced to live without a church, without a priest, without a school, without a teacher, without security, [and so they were] persecuted, cursed, [and] abused."[63] Thus the Greeks emigrated because they were determined to "avoid assimilation and preserve their nationality."[64] Because the Bulgarian Greeks "did not [want to] lose their national consciousness, [they] sacrificed their vital material interests [and] emigrated to their great birthplace [*sti megali tous geneteira*], the free motherland."[65] For these historians, the choice was clear: "[People] could either remain in their birthplace to be inevitably Bulgarized, or they could emigrate to mother Greece and . . . safeguard their nationality."[66] In line with this thinking, authors depicted the Greeks who remained in Bulgaria as victims of Bulgarian manipulation, facing "the danger of Bulgarization" and a "slow racial death."[67] These works were filled with emotional metaphors and dynamic comparisons, alluding to the peril of "a second Bartholomew night" or the specter of "Bulgarian janissaries" that had terrorized the peaceful Greek population.[68]

Describing life after resettlement, authors portrayed the motherland's struggle to accommodate her ravaged and squandered children as well as the egalitarian, communal spirit of all undertakings after their arrival in Greece. Writers underscored that the Bulgarian Greeks excelled through their "hard work, discipline, and intelligence" and exemplified "elements of progress" in their "recovered motherland." Authors frequently used the terms "repatriates" (*ekpatrismenoi*) and "repatriation" (*ekpatrismos*) to portray an illusory reality of "reuniting" with a country in which the Greeks had never lived.[69] Others mentioned the hardship of adapting to life in Greece, but, instead of criticizing the Greek governments' failure to accommodate the immigrants, a view clearly articulated by people at the

62. IAMB, Archive 256, file 23, 10.
63. Konstantinidis, *I Mesemvria tou Evxinou,* 59.
64. K. Mirtilos Apostolidis, "I katalisis tis en Philippoupoli ellinikis orthodoxis koinotitos (1906)," *ATLGT* 13 (1946–47): 54–62.
65. Vogazlis, "Ellinikes thriskevtikes koinotites," 63.
66. Apostolidis, *Voulgaroi i Ellines isan oi Kariotai?* 58–59.
67. Mavrommatis, *Anchialos mes' apo tis phloges,* 85; Diamandopoulos, *I Anchialos,* 140.
68. Papaioannidou, *Istoria tis en Ponto Apollonias,* 92, 94.
69. Apostolidis, *O Stenimachos,* 79; Vogazlis, "Ellinikes thriskevtikes koinotites," 63.

local level, these authors underscored the "care" and "tenderness" of Greek officials.[70] Writers did not blame their privation on the Greek authorities that had lured the minority to Greece during times of strain; instead, they accused the Bulgarian officials who had relentlessly persecuted the Greeks in their original localities. The histories silenced the conflicting perceptions of nationality evident during the crises of 1906 and 1925, ignored the fact that some Greeks had preferred to stay in Bulgaria instead of emigrating to Greece, and overlooked the sympathy of local Bulgarians for the Greeks.

Further, the authors tried to appropriate the voice of the immigrants and to present a unified picture of their experience after arriving in Greece. Describing the Kavakli population, Apostolidis claimed: "Today the people from Kavakli are not in foreign land [and do not] desire to return [to their native place]. They live in the bosom of their great mother [*megali mitros*]...and prosper, as people and as Greeks....In this case, *nostalgia* for their birthplace...cannot exist, because the terms are reversed, their birthplace became *foreign land,* [transformed into] a stepmother [*mitriia*], and was replaced by the motherland [*mitros gis*]. Now only *memory* [of the past] exists, which will also disappear with time, vanishing with the current generation."[71] According to this logic, because the Kavakli immigrants "prospered materially" and "lived better [in Greece] than in their birthplace," they had "no reason for nostalgia." More important, because they were true Greeks, how could they feel homesick for Bulgarian lands? The author wanted to create the impression that, "nobody today regrets his actions...because they have the greatest fortune in the world, as people and as Greeks, to live like free citizens in their great and historically famed motherland among co-nationals."[72] Such accounts contradicted not only other sources that described the population's disappointment with life in Greece but also the author's own account of the idiosyncratic traditions of the Karioti/Kariotes in the same book. His work attempted to claim this hybrid population as Greek compatriots, and while charting the vision of a unified national community in the past and present, it tended to forget crucial aspects of the refugee experience.

Because they wanted to situate the Bulgarian Greek experience within what they believed was the historical destiny of the Greek nation, authors often embraced the most evocative symbol of the Greek refugee experience, the image of the forced uprooting of Asia Minor, to describe the plight of the Bulgarian Greeks. The writers employed apocalyptic rhetoric and depicted an illusion of premeditated destruction and national martyrdom for all Bulgarian Greeks during the Bulgarian campaigns of 1906, 1914, and 1925. They represented the minority as people who "wanted with their self-sacrifice, with their suicide, if you wish, to speak at the top of their voices

70. Mavrommatis, *I Anchialos mes' apo tis phloges,* 5.
71. Apostolidis, *Voulgaroi i Ellines isan oi Kariotai?* 57–58 (emphasis in original).
72. Ibid., 58–59 n. 3.

of the injustice inflicted on the whole local population [in Bulgaria]."[73] Authors depicted the 1906 burning of Anhialo/Anchialos by the Bulgarians as equivalent to the 1923 burning of Smyrna by the Turks, elevating the event to a foundational status that equated the Bulgarian Greeks to all martyrs of the Greek nation.[74] These pamphlets forged a unified picture of the historical destiny of all Greeks in Bulgaria and presented their actions as an expression of ultimate sacrifice to the motherland and the nation.

Patriotism and the preservation of historical knowledge were indisputable motives for these authors to engage in the production of history in the way they did, but their writings tended to forget aspects of the past. The desired unity of the Greeks from Bulgaria, the creation of favorable public opinion for the immigrants in Greece, and the legitimization of property claims in the negotiations with Bulgarian officials undeniably influenced their rendition of history. This tendency was most evident in Drakos Mavrommatis's *Anchialos mes' apo tis phloges* (Anchialos out through the flames), the master narrative of the Greeks from Anhialo/Anchialos, who unequivocally stated: "The purpose of the book is . . . to express the gratitude of my compatriots to the Free State for all that it has done and will continue doing for the timely liquidation of all pending issues with the Bulgarian state . . . and primarily the compensation of Anchialists for the material losses they have suffered during the burning of their native home."[75] Such works served the current difficult circumstances and selectively interpreted the past, creating an emotional bridge with a triumphant future guaranteed by the glorious national heritage. These interpretations reflected the mentality of the interwar period, but they were hostile to the ambiguities of earlier experiences when people's actions were not entirely motivated by the national idea. Reimagining a common refugee saga, however, allowed the Bulgarian Greeks to enter the pantheon of persecution, sacrifice, and glory that comprised the Greek nation, which made them full-fledged members of the national community.

Remembering the Past

Another version of the past emerges from personal recollections, memoirs, fictional writings, and oral testimonies of older times. Instead of a standardized depiction of national life, the focus shifted to the subjective, personal, contradictory, and unique, revealing how people anxiously strove to create meaning out of their fractured lives after their relocation. These narratives also concerned the past but presented a different view compared to the ones penned by national brokers. Instead of a unified national community,

73. Mavrommatis, *I Anchialos mes' apo tis phloges,* 6.

74. See also Apostolidis, "I katalisis"; Anchialite, *Bulgares! Qu'avez-vous fait de vos minorités Greques?* (Athens, 1930).

75. Mavrommatis, *Anchialos mes' apo tis phloges,* 7.

records of individual experiences uncovered visions of former days that did not "confuse attachment to locality with commitment to myths of national rootedness."[76] Such memories, often written as personal testimonials and not aspiring to broad publicity, were characterized by contradictory emotions, inconsistent memories, and nuanced ambiguities. They were infused with nostalgia for the birthplace and melancholy for the past, and they often acquired a woeful tone of regret for the delightful life in the native land that was forever lost after relocation. On some level, these memories reflected the tension between the idealized diasporic community of the past and the imperfect nation-state of the present. But, more important, these expressions of personal thoughts about the old days possessed the basic characteristic of human memory: its instability, unpredictability, and selectiveness.[77]

National activists were deeply aware that the "official" visions of the past which they were reconstructing did not reflect popular perceptions of older times. Authors often complained of the limited impact of their works because the ordinary people whose history they were trying to preserve showed no interest in their endeavors or had a different take on the past. Throughout the 1930s, "many counties and almost all communities [in Greece] refused to make copies of *Archeoin Thrakis* available," confirming the fears of historians that popular indifference condemned their work to oblivion.[78] When Mirtilos Apostolidis completed his history of Stanimaka/Stenimachos, he was deeply disappointed: "I thought there would be a prosperous person . . . who would buy a sufficient number of books to distribute free of charge to the poor people from Stanimaka and the schoolchildren so they could learn about their motherland. . . . But it seems that prosperous people from Stanimaka do not exist or, if they do, they do not think about this [as important]."[79] But instead of "keeping this work on the mantle like a family relic," historians discovered how difficult it was to disseminate their books among a population much more concerned with everyday problems.[80]

This last point raises several questions: What did people remember from the past? What was a likely topic of their daily conversations? What stories did they tell their children? The general spirit of the occasional mundane opinions that have survived was that "we lived good lives" in the native land.[81] Good times and peaceful everyday events came to mind first, not

76. Keith Brown, "Introduction," *Balkanologie* 5 (2001): 152.

77. For historical memory, see Alon Confino, "Collective Memory and Cultural History," *AHR* 102 (1997): 1371–1412; Kerwin Lee Klein, "On the Emergence of *Memory* in Historical Discourse," *Representations* 69 (2000): 127–150. Two works focusing on eastern Europe are Bucur and Wingfield, *Staging the Past;* and Todorova, *Balkan Identities.*

78. GAK, k111z, file 2, doc. 6, 8, 9. GDTh to all counties, communities, and school districts, 21 August 1939, 5 July and 12 September 1940.

79. GAK, k111v, doc. 29, 26. Letters of Apostolidis, 6 July 1928 and 27 October 1929. His experience with his history of Plovdiv/Philippoupolis was similar. See GAK, k111v, doc. 18. Letter, 22 January 1932.

80. Apostolidis, "Preface," in *O Stenimachos.*

81. D. Petropoulos, "Laographika Kosti Anatolikis Thrakis," *ATLGT* 6 (1939–40): 227.

thoughts of national struggle or collective martyrdom. "We were a hundred times better there" and "emigration made it worst" were two recurrent phrases, which suggested unremitting longing for the old days and a pronounced preference for remembering positive experiences.[82] The overwhelming awareness of loss informed the exiles' common experience and also placed nostalgia for the lost past at the center of their worldviews. This trend explains why personal recollections of former times differed significantly from the "authoritative" visions of history, creating an alternative community of memory that defied official, all-encompassing accounts by stressing the importance of personal experiences.[83] Moreover, when activists sought to record individual life stories, they often found that people were unwilling to produce coherent and well-structured narratives of the past. Interviews in the 1930s with individuals from Kosti, near Ahtopol/Agathoupolis, revealed that "they know very little about the ancient history of their village."[84] In the same locality, when asked to document the rite of fire walking, those interviewed stubbornly insisted: "'We don't know, we didn't see, we don't remember, we don't, we don't, we don't.' This is the stereotypical answer of all people from Kosti when you ask them. . . . A slight smile and the stereotypical 'I don't, I don't, I don't.'"[85] People were not simply trying to leave the past behind; mostly they wanted to preserve their memories for themselves or share them with others in ways of their own choosing.

Even the memories of individuals undoubtedly devoted to the national cause tended to be ambiguous when they reflected their own personal experiences. When Apostolos Doxiadis, the dedicated public servant and community activist from Stanimaka/Stenimachos, wrote his memoirs in 1937, he appeared to be a person who devoted his entire life solely to the Greek nation.[86] Doxiadis anachronistically inscribed episodes from his childhood into the bigger picture of national struggles. In this spirit, he explained that when Greek children, returning home from school, met students from the Bulgarian school in the 1900s, "we didn't hesitate to provoke them, to start fights and return [home] scratched, bleeding, [and] cut into shreds. This is how we got used to the struggles. This is how I prepared for future battles. We sensed that these innocent clashes were a preface to the bloody drama that would be played out one day."[87] This was the worldview of a person who believed that his nation needed strong, unbending leaders that would not deviate from the path regardless of the sacrifice required. He

82. IAPE, Ath 36, interview with a man from Mesemvria; and Ath 1, interview with a woman from Burgas/Pirgos.

83. Brown, "Introduction," 145–148.

84. Petropoulos, "Laographika," 225.

85. V. N. Deliiannis, "Ta Anestenaria sto chorio Kosti tis periphereias Agathoupoleos Anatolikis Thrakis," *ATLGT* 5 (1939–40): 129.

86. IAMB, Archive 256, files 23, 23a, 24.

87. IAMB, Archive 256, file 23, 11.

often spoke of having no regrets in fleeing Stanimaka/Stenimachos like a fugitive in 1915, without saying farewell to his dying father or knowing when he would see his wife and three children again, maintaining that it was the right thing to do for the nation.[88] But Doxiadis had his own phantoms and haunted memories, and he felt a profound guilt and acute sorrow that he could not close his parents' eyes when they died. He explained: "How truly deep is my remorse? If you still have your parents alive, try not to sadden them, try not to upset them."[89] When he returned to Stanimaka/Stenimachos in 1937, twenty two years after his flight, his visit triggered memories of his family, his personal loss, and his guilt. Deeply buried emotions overwhelmed even this most dedicated of national leaders: "When I approached [the city] by car, when I discerned the mountains, when I saw the smoke climbing toward the sky, I thought that I had only left yesterday. This is how vibrant and deep were the impressions from my early years, which shone with all their vividness and beauty after this reminder."[90] This strong connection to the past and nostalgia for the native home remained pervasive among the immigrants in the interwar years, regardless of their background. Dear memories of the lost past and an intense longing to return disturbed any pretense of calm and adaptation in Greece; the pain of loss always lingered with the immigrants, coloring memories of their personal and communal past.

Memories of bygone days were not ordered or consistent but followed a meandering path. The writer Argiris Korakas, recording his reminiscences from Anhialo/Anchialos in 1928, twelve years after his departure from Bulgaria, described the elusive workings of memory among exiles: "I write down my memories as they come to mind, without order, without classification. These memories are not a history, not even a moral story, this is why they are 'helter-skelter,' as the popular saying goes, they have not heard about structure nor have they any idea of methodology."[91] Korakas's journey into the past was deeply personal, remarkably spontaneous, and often impossible to control:

> When I decided to write [the first story in my book] about the cracked church bell, I didn't think about writing other things. As if I had told myself that this was where my memories from Old Anchialos would stop. But when I started writing and focused on my thoughts, I became a ten-year-old child again, and with the wings of my imagination I found myself in these beautiful childhood years, thousands of different memories circled around my fountain pen, as if they wanted to drop into the ink and place themselves on the

88. See chapter 3, 87–88, for details.
89. IAMB, Archive 256, file 23, 3.
90. Ibid., 1–2.
91. Korakas, "Anamniseis apo tin Palaia Anchialo," in Mavrommatis, *Anchialos mes' apo tis phloges,* 115.

> paper. I wrote down as many [of these memories] as I could, but so many things became alive during their quick passage through my soul and their influence was so immense that that evening I dreamed that I was in Old Anchialos.[92]

His memories resembled a dream. The first story, "The Cracked Church Bell," was typical of the erratic, impulsive feelings about the past Korakas experienced once he dared to dive into his subconscious memories. His first recollection was of the place itself, the city as a cluster of buildings, the blue background of the sea and sky, and the salt deposits around the lake. He saw the dense, magnificent woods of acacias and poplars, and remembered how he played there as a child and carved his name into a tree. His mental journey took him to the windmills, lined up like fortresses, and he entered the city through the main gate. He then viewed public buildings and private homes, and his attention focused on the imposing structure of the Church of the Lady (Panagia). He remembered that the Bulgarians had named the city "Little Greece," and this memory triggered the tale of the cracked church bell.[93] Here the past appeared as a fairy tale; while it had a purpose and perhaps even a moral, it followed a winding and unpredictable path in uncovering old memories.

The chapters that follow in Korakas's reminiscences continue this capriciousness, combining personal and group memories in an unpredictable sequence. "The Old Bath" brought to mind the national struggles of the early 1900s, when Greece "was so far away and so weak," as well as an episode in which his friend, Jean, broke young Korakas's tooth.[94] "The Carols" produced memories of patriotic activities, when the Greeks felt deep love for "the motherland, the One and Only, Greece, yet not [Greece] the country . . . but Greece the cause."[95] The "Primal Sin" recounted the political and social divisions among the Greeks as well as the active communal life of a population that was both united and divided in its views. In "Architecture" the author depicted the narrow, curvy streets, the spacious, brick-covered houses, and the abundant water fountains in the city. He dedicated a separate chapter to the seagulls and their lovemaking, which was "worse than the cats" and caused embarrassment to many mothers.[96] Then Korakas described traditions and customs, famous people in town, his schoolmates and the "characters" of the community, childhood games, and his first innocent loves. Finally, in 1928, because "nostalgia would not go away," he decided to return to the place "where my soul fluttered like a butterfly on the flowers of my childhood memories," and so he traveled to Bulgaria to visit once

92. Ibid., 112.
93. Ibid., 103–111.
94. Ibid., 113.
95. Ibid., 115.
96. Ibid., 125.

again the Anchialos of his childhood dreams.[97] A blend of intimate personal recollections and proud national moments, the most valuable features of these narratives remain their immediacy, spontaneity, and fickleness, showing how difficult it was to control or direct one's thoughts about the past.

Other accounts confirm the power of personal recollections over patriotic deliberations. The elements of the past that came to mind often had more to do with the everyday life of ordinary people than the epic struggles of national heroes. Some recurrent themes in remembering Anhialo/Anchialos include the ritual of throwing a cross into the sea, in January during Epiphany, and retrieving it from the freezing waters; the custom of *sourva*, or ceremoniously smacking people with the decorated branch of a tree on Saint Vasil/Vasilios Day to guarantee health and luck during the year; the jolly village fair that gathered Greeks and Bulgarians from neighboring areas offering opportunities for social contacts and dances; the theatrical performances that attracted the entire community; the disastrous fires that leveled whole neighborhoods or the unfortunate shipwrecks that brought to shore people's destroyed livelihoods; the peculiar traditions of the place, such as making bread with sea water; and the mysterious legends, such as the forlorn sirens and their woeful cries at night.[98] These were dear reminiscences that blissfully warmed the soul or bred melancholy for the past. They connected personal memory to the destiny of the community as a whole, but they also remained deeply personal as they reminded people of their own childhood and family and awoke cherished intimate sentiments. It is clear, therefore, why people would reject stern accounts of national struggles when their memories recalled delightful days in their everyday lives. The sense of community these recollections created were of shared but personal experiences from the past that were deeply missed in the present.

The process of remembering often focused on tangible recollections of the past such as homes, churches, and nature, which made the past real. Interviews with first-generation immigrants reveal their passionate connection to nature and their fond memories of the lush Bulgarian scenery.[99] The newcomers in Greece remembered the feeling of the Bulgarian landscape, the particularities of the scenery; the healthy climate and abundant water, the azure sea and lush mountains, the trees and the greenery, the birds, the fish, the wine, and the fruit. A man from Anhialo/Anchialos grumbled, "[In Greece] the mountains had no trees. One co-villager came and said, 'Greece has nothing green,'. . . and I said, 'What countryside is this?'. . . The farms don't have a tree? How do they live?"[100] Another person from Stanimaka/Stenimachos noted that his birthplace had "an excellent climate, fruit, vines,

97. Ibid., 143.

98. Mavrommatis, *I astiki kai agrotiki zoi*, 261, 265, 269, 272, 275.

99. The Kalamaria Municipality Archive of Greek Refugees in Salonica (*Istoriko Archeio Prophorikou Ellinismou*) recorded, in the 1990s, from interviews with first-generation refugees in the Salonica area, including some Greek immigrants from Bulgaria.

100. IAPE, Ath 30, interview with a man from Anhialo/Anchialos.

wine, a lot of vines," and mentioned "the forests, the mountains, the trees, the oaks, the river, all very nice." Contrasting life in Bulgaria to his current residence, he added, "When we came to Greece we didn't live as we did there."[101] Remembering Mesemvria, a woman compared the abundance of her childhood memories to the scarcity of the Greek reality:

> People lived well there [in Bulgaria], our place was nice, fertile, the Black Sea produced a lot of fish.... We lived well, our place was very pleasant, you know it had cherry trees, it had figs... walnuts, almonds, the house was full [of fruit]... and [we had] *tsir*, dried fish, the house was full.... I had an obsession to climb the trees, cherry trees, what not.... And when my father came [to Greece] and he came to this dry place, he wanted to return but he had already sold the house... [In Bulgaria] there was a mountain here, a mountain there, everything was green.... My father made the mistake not to go there and see first, and then to bring the family.... There were some fishermen who went [to Greece] and came back, and they said, 'Don't go, it is worse'... but in 1925 they didn't know and they suffered.... They were all patriots, but we came [to Greece] to find nothing while there we had everything.[102]

These testimonies reveal the stubborn perseverance of the ambiance of a particular space, the aroma of distinctive smells, the resonance of familiar sounds, the taste of favorite meals, and the sense of climbing trees, swimming in the sea, or running through the narrow streets. One could almost taste the baklava made by Mavrommatis's grandmother:

> I remember when my grandmother Charikleia... sat behind the low, round table, grabbed the rolling pin, and started to flatten the dough, and she made the layer so thin, so thin, because the ingredients were first-class.... She flattened the dough and skillfully grabbed it and placed it in a big pan and covered it with butter... and she put some twenty layers on top of each other, then she mixed the filling of shredded walnuts with cinnamon and sugar and spread the twentieth layer and brushed it with melted butter.... With what anxiety we waited for the baklava to be taken out of the oven, peach-red and never burned! Then my grandmother saturated it with syrup and so the baklava was ready for Easter.[103]

This memory captured the joy and anticipation of a holiday celebration portrayed through the eyes of an innocent child, but it also revealed the

101. IAPE, Ath 118, interview with a man from Stanimaka/Stenimachos.
102. IAPE, Ath 88, interview with a woman from Mesemvria.
103. Mavrommatis, *I astiki kai agrotiki zoi*, 277.

persistent presence in his memory of the loved ones who would never be forgotten. The author could clearly see the room, feel his grandmother's presence, and imagine the route to the bakery in his thoughts, as he could also smell the aroma of the pastry. There existed in his story an intimate awareness of personal loss and the acute feeling that what had vanished in the past could never be recovered.

Memories of things lost forever aroused the most intense emotions. When Korakas arrived in Anhialo/Anchialos, he encountered a new place in which he could not glimpse the spirit of old times. The discrepancy between the mental picture he had diligently stored in his brain and the reality he came across was painful and frustrating:

> With the widely open eyes of my soul I see everything, everything, but, alas, with my real eyes, I cannot see anything besides piles of stones and debris and several sparsely built new houses. . . . Everything is gone, churches, houses, stores, and people, and the only thing that remains is the skeleton of the Church of the Lady [that survived] after the fire. . . . The amiable birds, the seagulls, they are gone too.
>
> I sit on a step overrun with weeds at the Church of the Lady and hear the weep of Time, and its tears fall drop by drop, bitter and bleeding, and my soul, like a grief-stricken epic poet, augments these tears with its own lament, while a procession of old men and women, of women, maids, men, and children passes in front of me and circles the ruins, and I hear them say: Once upon a time . . . once upon a time . . . we were . . . it was . . . one country . . . one princess . . . one queen . . . once upon a time . . . once upon a time.[104]

The past he remembered had vanished forever, and the writer realized that he could never recover and enjoy the old times again, as he had hoped for over a decade. The dreamy Mavrommatis also worried about what had happened to his Anchialos, the Seagull City: "Now with the catastrophe and the burning of Anchialos . . . I don't know if the seagulls continue to go to Anchialos in the summer."[105] These writers projected sorrow onto the natural world to emphasize the radical transformation of the town and the pain of memories forever lost. The impossibility of re-creating the experience, preserving the memory, and fully recovering the moment remained constant in these stories of the lost past.

The feeling of nostalgia and the longing to return was similarly strong among the immigrants whose emotions overwhelmed their memories. One man sadly stated: "Nostalgia for the lost motherlands [*chamenes patrides*] always remains strong," summarizing the experience of many who

104. Korakas, "Anamniseis apo tin Palaia Anchialo," 147.
105. Mavrommatis, *I astiki kai agrotiki zoi,* 257.

had irrevocably severed their links to their native places.[106] Some who managed to go back eventually reconciled with the loss, or rather learned to live with it, but those who did not revisit their birthplaces continued to see their ghosts and yearn for return as a form of redemption. "[Bulgaria] was my motherland [*patrida*] where I saw the first light. From 1922 to 1968 I wanted to go [back], I felt intense nostalgia. What could I do over there? I have everything here, I have my family here. But I wanted to see."[107] This persistent "I want to see" was the simplest way of expressing this angst. Polidoros Papachristodoulou, the main figure behind the journals *Thrakika* and *Archeion Thrakis,* confessed his "incurable nostalgia [*atherapevti nostalgia*] for the lost motherland, which I have yearned for [*ti nostalgo*] now for fifty years."[108] Even Mirtilos Apostolidis, who did not seem to think that nostalgia existed among the immigrants, admitted: "The Greek . . . does not forget his native land [*geneteira*] and even when he is prosperous in foreign land [*xeni*], he yearns to return [*nostos*]."[109] The desire to reach into the past and ease the ache of separation thus remained invariable. For most people, "this whole experience [of relocation] makes them . . . remember [*anapoloun*] their old motherland with deep yearning [*pothos*] and feel nostalgia for it [*nostalgoun*]."[110] The exile was doomed to yearn and covet forever.

This less sensational attitude toward the past reveals that people had memories not only of national catastrophes and collective martyrdom. As observed in other cases, the preservation of the national project was not a priority for the majority of the population, but it actually frustrated and alienated some of the people it aimed to recruit.[111] As opposed to glorified national myths, the immigrants nursed gentle recollections from the happy days of their innocent childhood or untroubled youth. This idealized reality of harmony in the earlier period created an acute sense of personal loss associated with the disappearance of the familiar and cozy past. This more intimate pain was further aggravated by having to deal with the daily reality of deprivation and the struggle to integrate into the new setting at the present moment. On the one hand, memories of the past were comforting and made one forget the current difficulties, but, on the other, they were a constant painful reminder of happiness that seemed gone forever. All these memories, therefore, undermined the emigrants' process of integrating into the Greek "homeland" as well as official attempts to achieve national uniformity. How could the impoverished "here and now" compete with such a romanticized "there and then?" These recollections, deeply individual and intimate, awakened anxiety about the human condition and projected

106. Germidis, "Chamenes ellinikes esties."
107. IAPE, Ath 122, interview with a Greek man from Sozopol/Sozoupolis.
108. Polidoros Papachristodoulou, "Dio logia," *ATLGT* 16 (1951): 275–333.
109. Apostolidis, *Voulgaroi i Ellines isan oi Kariotai?* 57.
110. Konstantinidis, *I Mesemvria par' Evxinou,* 61.
111. For a preponderance of the personal in the Armenian case, see Loizos, "Ottoman Half-Selves," 250–251.

it onto the whole group, a reminder of the imperfect present versus the blissful past.

The Nation: Primordial and Negotiable

Historical pamphlets and personal recollections told different stories of the past and emphasized distinct features of the community and its role in the life story of the individual and the group. The historical accounts pictured the quintessential primordial nation since time immemorial. This was a community of blood and spirit, which had preserved the glory of the ethnic group and the vitality of the national tradition throughout the centuries. The loyalty to this primeval nation supposedly guided all of people's life choices, and deviating from its path meant infamy and disgrace. According to this way of thinking, the Bulgarian Greeks' decision to live nationally was their only possible choice, and so they could have no regrets for the past or for what they had left behind. But the personal narratives disagreed. There was a subjective aspect to what one remembered from older times, and the nuances of everyday life complicated the image of a monolithic nation. These memories pictured national solidarity but also social divisions among the Greeks; they exalted the idea of Greece but reprimanded Greece as a state, also recognizing the generosity of some Bulgarians in contrast to the unfriendly reception the Greeks encountered in Greece. So certain historical facets they uncovered presented the community not as a black-and-white issue but rather as a complex conglomerate of conflicting ideas: there was both blissful coziness and bitter estrangement; happiness and delight but also guilt, remorse, and pity. These diverse, often conflicting narratives reveal that the nation could be many things at once; a primordial collective given that allows for no choice, the source of personal joy and sorrow, and the negotiable loyalty of free-thinking individuals. People's experiences and the official national epic were connected, but they did not easily fit together. The past appeared not simply as snapshots of national struggles and group solidarity but as personal chronicles of deeply missed older times that promised redemption from present difficulties. Despite the prevalence of national clichés in the public sphere, alternative, more tolerant views of the past existed among diverse social groups, contradicting the official claim of having a monopoly over history.

This existence of more nuanced views regarding Bulgarian-Greek relations led to a period of rapprochement between leading figures and ordinary people in the two countries during a short détente of the mid-1930s. Cultural, economic, and sport initiatives proliferated as musicians, singers, artists, writers, and professors exchanged visits, entrepreneurs strove to circumvent economic restrictions, and sportspersons, alpinists, and tourists explored options to ease travel.[112] This increasing openness of grassroots initiatives

112. TsDA, f. 322k, op. 1, a.e. 785, ll. 47, 45, 14, 11–12. BLA to MVRI, September and November 1934; and IAIE, A/6/I/2. EPS to IE, March, June, November, and December 1934.

was accompanied by a change in the rhetoric people used to describe the two nations; such expressions as "cooperation and mutual trust" and "sympathy and respect" became the code words of the day.[113] Politicians were also aware that "the poison of tribal interethnic hatred has not penetrated the popular masses, as many had thought."[114] The disregard of official concerns with national unity was apparent in the activities of various associations, which called for "peaceful coexistence for securing the interests and lives of the two peoples" and maintained that improvement in relations between the two neighbors was "the best thing [the government] could do for the tranquility and progress of the country."[115] One author summarized his views on interethnic relations in the Balkans through the eyes of a Bulgarian soldier: "If they brought together [some Bulgarians], the same number of Greeks, and the same number of Serbs, all ordinary people, we would find a way to get along and to part peacefully."[116]

Influential public figures were also prone to support such views. The community leader and attorney Dimitris Vogazlis, discussing the national encounters of Bulgarians and Greeks, asked: "Was the whole Bulgarian people guilty of this? I cannot say it with a clean consciousness," and concluded: "It is not right, it is not fair to generalize about the flaws of a whole people."[117] Petâr Neĭkov, the Bulgarian ambassador to Greece between 1931 and 1935, remarked: "Malice could be a personal characteristic but it cannot be a national vice, in the same way that honesty and sincerity cannot be national virtues. There are no malicious peoples, there is malicious politics. . . . Without politics . . . the Balkan peoples, who are so alike in lifestyle and culture, could feel connected and ready for peaceful cohabitation."[118] A large number of intellectuals, politicians, and entrepreneurs in both countries supported these ideas. When the Greek-Bulgarian and Bulgarian-Greek Associations appeared, respectively, in Athens and Sofia in the summer of 1935, their purpose was "to create trust between the two peoples" so that Bulgarians and Greeks could live "in permanent peace and . . . solve their problems in a friendly and reconciliatory manner."[119] Their activities included public lectures, theatrical performances, cultural exchange programs, language learning, travel,

113. TsDA, f. 322k, op. 1, a.e. 823, ll. 18–24. Greek newspapers from November 1934. See ibid., ll. 14–15, 27–28, 36; and TsDA, f. 176k, op. 22, a.e. 346, ll. 104–105. BLA to MVRI, November 1934.

114. Petâr Neĭkov, *Spomeni* (Sofia, 1990), 347.

115. IAIE, 1938, A/6/3, 2. Greek immigrants settled in Salonica, 5 October 1938; IAIE, 1935, A/6/3. The Organization of Refugees from Stanimaka, 21 May 1935.

116. Vogazlis, "Voulgaroi kai Ellines," 146.

117. Ibid., 143, 138.

118. Neĭkov, *Spomeni*, 342.

119. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 20, a.e. 152, l. 1–5. BLA to MVRI, 9 March 1936, including transcripts of speeches; TsDA, f. 413k, op. 1, a.e. 1, l. 11. Draft letter of the Bulgarian-Greek Association. For the membership of the organizations, see Ploumidis, "O sindesmos ellinovoulgarikis philias."

and the facilitation of economic activities.[120] Their leaders emphasized that "Greeks and [Bulgarians] know of but are not familiar with each other; we mainly know each other's negative qualities . . . without paying attention to and exploring what connected us [in the past] and can connect us [in the future]."[121] Others assured that, "[old] disputes and problems . . . were due to our compete isolation," or proclaimed that, "we will discover in you, and you will in us, qualities that will bring us closer, that will make us love each other, and comprehend that we are not like what we used to depict each other to be in the past."[122] In 1937 the Greek-Bulgarian Association made a trip to Bulgaria, and the visit of Apostolos Doxiadis to Stanimaka/Stenimachos was greeted with an enthusiastic response among the Bulgarian population, revealing a willingness to reconcile. In his native city the physician became "an object of the warmest manifestations of love and respect." This former fugitive from Bulgaria and persona non grata in that same country was welcomed by a big crowd and the mayor named a street after him.[123]

These alternative views confirm that national characterizations were only snapshots of opinions reflecting the context of their verbalization. There was nothing approaching a permanent view of how people felt about their neighbors and interpreted their relations with them. This observation was particularly poignant for the people who originated from Bulgaria and did not want to sever their links to the past and their native land but demanded the right to visit their birthplace and reconnect with their old acquaintances. Organizations of the Bulgarian Greeks, in the 1930s, continued their requests for improved visa regulations, passport rules, and transportation options to facilitate communication with their native land.[124] Doxiadis and Apostolidis, though passionate critics of Bulgarian nationalism and supporters of the Greek cause, preserved warm feelings toward Bulgaria and enthusiastically participated in the activities of the Greek-Bulgarian Associations that were working to bring the two nations closer together. This language of mutual cooperation, trust, and common interest continued into the late 1930s, when the two countries' relations experienced a decline and political considerations erased alternative views of the past and any future relations between Bulgarians and Greeks. But the existence of these records of coexistence and good-will between the two nations, contradicting and fine-tuning

120. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 22, a.e. 346, ll. 25–26, 36–37. BLA to MVRI, 29 July and 9 December 1935; TsDA, f. 413k, op. 1, a.e. 1, ll. 7, 8–9. Greek newspaper summary, 16 December 1935; Zariphis to Kerekov, 22 November 1935.

121. TsDA, f. 413k, op. 1, a.e. 3, l. 16. Speech of Professor Balabanov, April 1936.

122. TsDA, f. 413k, op. 1, a.e. 3, ll. 35–36. Speeches of the Greek Ambassador Diamandopoulos and the president of the Bulgarian-Greek Association Georgi Radev, 10 January 1936.

123. IAMB, Archive 256, file 24, 183–185. As noted in chapter 3, Doxiadis fled Bulgaria and defected from the Bulgarian Army in 1915.

124. IAIE, 1938, A/6/3, 2. Greek immigrants settled in Salonica, 5 October 1938; IAIE, 1935, A/6/3. The Organization of Refugees from Stenimachos, 21 May 1935.

the official narratives of uncompromising national struggles, demonstrates that professional politicians, grassroots movements, and individual persons readily embraced more nuanced interpretations of history and ignored political commitments for the sake of the common good of Bulgarians and Greeks.

Epilogue

The decade of the 1940s once again upset the dynamics of Bulgarian-Greek relations, all to the detriment of the Bulgarian Greeks. Shortly after World War II engulfed the region, the historian and recent deportee from Bulgaria Mirtilos Apostolidis, worn out by loneliness and deprivation, quietly passed away in Athens in April 1942.[1] Three months later Apostolos Doxiadis, the wartime fugitive from Bulgaria, interwar refugee settlement official and public health activist, and active member of the Bulgarian-Greek Associations in the late 1930s, collapsed from exhaustion as he traveled to a meeting dedicated to children's rights.[2] The demise of these two figures signaled the end of more tolerant voices that sought reconciliation between the two countries. During the war the Bulgarian Greeks had diverging experiences that paralleled the fate of the population of Greece as a whole; the area around Nea Anchialos in Thessaly fell under Italian control, the communities near Salonica came under German administration, and the inhabitants of Western Thrace faced Bulgarian occupation. After the war the historian and editor-in-chief of the journal *Thrakika*, Polidoros Papachristodoulou, embraced political activism to neutralize Bulgarian territorial claims in Thrace and to seek revision of the Greek-Bulgarian border to Greece's benefit.[3] During this time the colorful Colonel Konstantinos Mazarakis-Aenian, former chief of the Greek Military Mission in Bulgaria in 1918 and 1919, reemerged to offer his expertise on dealing with the Bulgarians.[4]

1. Polidoros Papachristodoulou, "Obituary," *Nea Estia* 311(1942): 403–407.
2. IAMB, Archive 256, file 2. Catalogue of the Apostolos Doxiadis Archive, 5.
3. See Polidoros Papachristodoulou, *I katastrophi tou Voreiothrakikou ellinismou 1878–1914* (Athens, 1945).
4. IAIE, 1945, 22.1. Petition of Konstantinos Mazarakis-Aenian, 11 April 1945.

Developments in the 1940s, marked by the new confrontation of Bulgaria and Greece in World War II and their ideological rift brought on by the emerging Cold War, resulted in the continued adaptation and assimilation of the Bulgarian Greeks into both countries. In Bulgaria, because Bulgaria and Greece sided with opposing military coalitions during World War II and followed divergent paths after its end, the Greeks remained an "invisible minority," strategically hiding their nationality, avoiding public scrutiny, and seeking to privately preserve their language and traditions. In Greece, in the emergency situation arising out of the wartime occupation and the civil war, the population only occasionally acted as a vested interest group with discreet demands. The 1940s concluded the period in which the Bulgarian Greeks actively sought to preserve their distinctiveness or to emphasize their special status within the Bulgarian or Greek national communities. In the end, as residents of two countries on either side of a contentious political conflict, the populations became unable to actively navigate the Bulgarian-Greek divide in the 1940s, and so they transformed from "Bulgarian Greeks" into simply residents of Bulgaria or Greece.

At War Again

With World War II tearing Europe apart, Bulgaria and Greece again faced each other from opposing political and military alliances. Bulgaria sided with a revisionist Germany that sought changes in the existing European borders, while Greece supported the Allies that pursued the preservation of the interwar territorial status quo. The Axis alliance rewarded Bulgaria in September 1940 when, through German mediation, Bulgaria and Romania signed the Kraĭova (Craiova in Romanian) Agreement that ceded to Bulgaria the region of Southern Dobrudzha (Dobrogea in Romanian), which Romania had incorporated following the Second Balkan War.[5] Because the agreement also contained clauses enacting a population exchange, Romania withdrew its interwar colonizers while Bulgaria encouraged the colonization of Dobrudzha to secure its rapid re-Bulgarization. This transfer of territory also affected several Greek churches and communal facilities that had functioned independently under Romanian rule. With the arrival of the Bulgarian administration in Balchik, Kavarna, and Dobrich, most Greeks swiftly fled.[6] Initially Greek diplomats collected information regarding the communal properties and urged the Greeks to stay, but they soon abandoned these endeavors as most families either left for Greece or refused to associate with Greek officials. The Bulgarian Exarchate took control of the Greek churches without delay and incorporated them into the new dioceses added to its jurisdiction,

5. Nikolaĭ Genchev, *Vânshnata politika na Bâlgariia, 1938–1942* (Sofia, 1998), 95–118.
6. IAIE, 24 (X/4). Consulate in Konstantsa (Constanţa in Romanian) to IE, 23 August 1940.

all with the absence of objection from the Metaxas regime.[7] In 1940 it was unrealistic to reopen the old religious question that had existed twenty years prior, because it only had relevance for several small Greek communities on the northeastern fringes of the Bulgarian state.

As war in central Europe approached the Balkan Peninsula, in early 1941, the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs advised all Greek citizens to depart from Bulgaria immediately.[8] The Bulgarian government of Bogdan Filov signed the Tripartite Pact and joined the Axis on 1 March. As war unfolded, the Greek communities in Bulgaria lived in an atmosphere of tightened control, censorship, professional restrictions, and the internment of individuals suspected of endangering national security.[9] The authorities prohibited the use of the Greek language in Plovdiv/Philippoupolis and the Black Sea communities, and fined people who disobeyed the rule.[10] Police officials expanded the curfew targeting the Jewish population to also include the Greeks.[11] The rigorous control of the Black Sea communities and the prohibition against the navigation of Greek vessels in the Black Sea resulted in a wave of applications for Bulgarian citizenship from Greek fishermen and others who still had Greek citizenship.[12] As a continuation of the process that had begun in the late 1930s, the minority continued to be invisible, trying to avoid constant supervision and arbitrary fines for insignificant transgressions. The population showed practicality in its political choices and caution in its public appearances, evading encounters with officials and trying to stay unnoticed.

On 20 April, after the German military command had used Bulgarian territory to launch attacks on Greece and Yugoslavia, Bulgarian troops entered and began to administer Aegean Macedonia and Western Thrace in northern Greece.[13] Most Bulgarians saw this development as the "liberation" of Bulgarian lands given to Greece after 1919 and their "unification" with "Mother Bulgaria," correcting the perceived injustices that World War I had

7. IAIE, 24 (X/4). Correspondence of the Embassy in Bucharest and the Consulates in Konstantsa and Varna, August to October 1940.

8. IAIE, 24 (X/4). Memo of IE, 31 March 1941.

9. IAIE, 1941, 17 (A/6/2). EPP to IE, 14 December 1940; IAIE, 1941, 24 (X4/4).2. Ministry of Public Security to IE, 12 January 1941; TsDA, f. 370k, op. 6, a.e. 1699, l. 2. MV to MVRNZ, 14 April 1942, about "unreliable elements" on the Black Sea; TsDA, f. 370k, op. 6, a.e. 1901, l. 8. Report concerning the political situation in the Shumen District, 7 April 1943, refers to Greeks sent to labor camps; AMVR, f. 2, op. 1, a.e. 4664, l. 34. Report concerning the political situation in the Burgas District, July 1944.

10. DA-Burgas, f. 152k, op. 1, a.e. 35, l. 35. Records of fines of persons who spoke Greek in public in late 1942.

11. DA-Plovdiv, f. 56k, op. 1, a.e. 3, l. 39. MVRNZ to district police chiefs, 10 July 1941.

12. Vâlchinova, "Gârtsi," 212; TsDA, f. 370k, op. 6, a.e. 1907. MV to MVRNZ, 10 August 1943, about "countering foreign intelligence" on the Black Sea.

13. Works on Greece in the 1940s include John O. Iatrides, ed., *Greece in the 1940s: A Nation in Crisis* (Hanover, 1981); Mark Mazower, *Inside Hitler's Greece: The Experience of Occupation, 1941–1944* (New Haven, 1993); Richard Clogg, *Greece 1940–1949: Occupation, Resistance, Civil War: A Documentary History* (New York, 2003); and Mark Mazower, ed., *After the War was Over: Reconstructing the Family, Nation, and State in Greece, 1943–1960* (Princeton, 2000).

inflicted on the country.[14] The Filov government commenced comprehensive campaigns to nationalize the areas, implemented with a sense of urgency to fix the ethnic composition of Macedonia and Thrace in order to justify a revision of the borders at war's end. The extensive civil bureaucracy served to unify the systems in the "new" and "old" lands; a substantial economic investment sought to improve the infrastructure and facilitate communications between the Bulgarian mainland and the Aegean Sea; the large police force worked to stifle resistance and secure rapid Bulgarization; and social services, cultural activities, and propaganda campaigns attempted to convince the population of the new administration's goodwill.[15] The Bulgarian authorities also initiated the colonization of the newly incorporated territories, at first focusing on returning the interwar refugees from these lands, but then providing incentives for all Bulgarians to relocate. By this time, however, with the settlement of hundreds of thousands of refugees from Asia Minor and Pontos during the interwar years, Macedonia and Thrace had acquired a distinctly Greek ethnic character, which made the task of Bulgarizing these territories difficult. Between 1941 and 1944 the Filov government predicted that some 25,000 Bulgarian families would resettle in the area, but ultimately only 12,942 families, or about 50,000 persons, participated in the colonization. At the same time at least 120,000 Greeks abandoned the Bulgarian-occupied territories.[16] These nationalization endeavors constituted the last Bulgarian attempt to incorporate Macedonia and Thrace into the Bulgarian nation-state. The radicalism of the policies implemented in the two areas reflected the new dynamics that World War II introduced in the handling of minority populations, but it also represented the anxious desire of Bulgarian politicians to "rectify" the "mistakes" of the previous wartime period when the country had "lost" these lands.[17]

Bulgarian authorities resorted to the old belief that, with the correct incentives and sufficient stimuli, they could encourage or compel the population to reconsider its allegiances. In the 1930s Greek police authorities in

14. For this interpretation, see Georgi Daskalov, *Uchastta na bâlgarite v Egeĭska Makedoniia, 1936–1946* (Sofia, 1999).

15. Georgi Daskalov, "Izgrazhdane na bâlgarskata administratsiia i politicheskata sistema v novoosvobodenite zemi na Zapadna Trakiia i Iztochna Makedoniia," *Voennoistoricheski sbornik* 6 (1992): 103–127; Vania Stoianova, "Bâlgarskite kulturni institutsii v Belomorieto (1941–1944)," in *Moderna Bâlgariia*, ed. Iskra Baeva, 227–242 (Sofia, 1999); Xanthippi Kotzageorgi-Zymari, ed., *I Voulgariki katochi stin Anatoliki Makedonia kai ti Thraki, 1941–1944* (Thessaloniki, 2002), 21–70, 107–136.

16. Bulgarian and Greek scholars vacillate in their estimates between 100,000 and 150,000. See Vania Stoianova, "Etnodemografskata politika na Bâlgariia v prisâedinenite v perioda 1941–1944 zemi—zakonomernost ili anahronizâm v modernoto obshtestvo," *Balkanistichen forum* 3 (1994): 54–62; Georgi Daskalov, "Demografskite protsesi v Iztochna Makedoniia i Zapadna Trakiia (1 ianuari 1942–25 oktomvri 1944 g.), *Voennoistoricheski sbornik* 1 (1992): 17–48; Kotzageorgi-Zymari, *I Voulgariki katochi*, 137–155.

17. For similar dynamics in Transylvania, torn between Hungary and Romania, see Holly Case, *Between States: The Transylvanian Question and the European Idea during World War II* (Stanford, 2009). For the Germanization policies in Czechoslovakia, see Bryant, *Prague in Black*.

Western Macedonia had divided their Bulgarian-speaking minority (now officially called *Slavophonoi*, or Slavic speakers) into three categories: the "Bulgarian speakers with Greek consciousness" (*Voulgarophonoi ellinikis sineidisis*); the "Bulgarian minded" (*Voulgarophronoi*); and those who were "uncertain [and] with fluid consciousness" (*amphivoloi revstis sineidisis*).[18] This classification, diligently studied by the Bulgarian authorities upon their arrival in Aegean Macedonia and Western Thrace in 1941, made clear the anxiety of interwar Greek officials over the unstable allegiances of their "Slavic speakers" but also confirmed the development of Greek loyalties among many of them. After the Bulgarian occupation of these areas, officials in certain localities discovered "Bulgarians who, due to the prolonged [Greek] yoke, nurture sympathies for the Greek state."[19] Thus an important goal of the new bureaucracy was to convince such individuals to follow their "true" Bulgarian convictions. No doubt, many collaborated with the administration and actively displayed their Bulgarian "mind." The people who "declared themselves Bulgarians [*voulgarographthikan*]" came mainly from the Bulgarian-speaking minority in Greece who emphasized their links of affinity with the new administration, the interwar refugees who continued to be at odds with their co-villagers in the distribution of economic resources, and a large percentage of Armenians and other marginal groups that saw the Bulgarian occupation as an opportunity to promote their neglected interests.[20]

There were also some Greeks originally from Bulgaria who, because of their Bulgarian-language proficiency, displayed a willingness to assist the new Bulgarian authorities. In one example, when Bulgarian officials arrived in the important Aegean port of Kavala in 1941, a thirty-seven-year-old man originally from Melnik/Meleniko, now in Bulgaria, received a position in the mayor's office as a messenger, posting Bulgarian directives in public places, announcing important communications in Bulgarian, and explaining them in Greek. When a fellow Greek citizen asked him to translate one announcement, the messenger, who had "become Bulgarian," allegedly responded: "You should learn to read [Bulgarian because] Greece has died [*Ellada pethane*]."[21] But Bulgarian officials remained suspicious of Greeks who had resettled from Bulgaria in the interwar years; many were deceitful and presented themselves as members of the Bulgarian minority, which made it impossible to verify their true allegiance. These Greeks acted as Bulgarians "with great ease, because as natives of the old lands of the

18. TsDA, f. 176k, op. 21, a.e. 2613, ll. 265–277. Bulgarian translation of a Greek report of the Second Army, Directory for Propaganda, July 1932. The Greek original is ibid., ll. 278–294.

19. TsDA, f. 370k, op. 6, a.e. 2111, ll. 1–3. Gorna Dzhumaia District Chief to MVRNZ, 19 June 1944.

20. For collaboration, see Iakovos Michailidis, Ilias Nikolakopoulos, and Hagen Fleisher, eds., *Echthros entos ton teichon. Opseis tou dosilogismou stin Ellada tis katochis* (Athens, 2006).

21. GAK-ANK, AEDD. S.P. 6/45, 1945–1968. DIK 7–01, 1–5, Number 30. Protocols from the proceedings, 19 November 1945, regarding the "national untrustworthiness (*ethniki anaxiopistia*)" of a Greek born in Melnik/Meleniko.

Kingdom [they] speak good Bulgarian and are familiar with the customs and traditions of our people."[22] The difficulty of drawing lines according to nationality alarmed the administration, which sought clear distinctions between populations that were loyal to Bulgaria and the rest. The behavior of these individuals signified nothing uniquely "Bulgarian Greek" in the way people manipulated their loyalties, but rather complied with the image of opportunists who sought to benefit from regime change during the war, making use of their bilingualism and familiarity with the traditions of the occupiers.[23]

In contrast to these cases, the majority of the Bulgarian Greeks experienced the war in the way that many other Greek citizens did, that is, as people under harsh foreign occupation that tested the resilience of the human spirit. Most compact communities of the Greeks from Bulgaria were in the Salonica vicinity, which was under German occupation, or around Nea Anchialos in Thessaly, which was under Italian control, so they had no encounters with Bulgarian officials. Wartime stories recounted how the members of these communities suffered from deprivations and reprisals from both the occupiers and the national resistance, but also benefited from economic activities and communications with the warring parties.[24] In this situation individuals either highlighted their unity with the other Greek residents who were experiencing extreme hardship under triple occupation, or, because of their leftist affiliations, they supported internationalist ideas of a Balkan federation advanced by communist circles.[25] By the mid-1940s being "Bulgarian Greek" was no longer a meaningful category of identification for the population because other priorities had taken center stage.

From National to Ideological Enemy

With the end of the war and the Bulgarian withdrawal from northern Greece in September 1944, new political forces took control in Bulgaria. The Fatherland Front, a coalition of left-wing and centrist formations dominated by the Communist Party, sought to build its political alliances

22. AMVR, f. 2, op. 1, a.e. 19629, l. 18. Memo of the State Security Chief, 10 June 1941.

23. For similar experiences elsewhere in Nazi-occupied Europe, see Bryant, *Prague in Black;* and Emily Greble Balic, "When Croatia Needed Serbs: Nationalism and Genocide in Sarajevo," *SR* 68 (2009): 116–138. For an analysis of Bulgarian collaborators in Greece, most of them members of the Bulgarian minority, see Kiriakos Likourinos, "O dosilogismos sti Voulgarokratoumeni Anatoliki Makedonia. Dikes sto Eidiko Dikastirio Dosilogon Kavalas (1945–1956)"; Vasilis Ritzaleos, "Eidiko Dikastirio Dramas (1945–1966). Diskolies kai provlimata sti metakatochiki aponomi tis dikaiosinis," in Michailidis, Nikolakopoulos, and Fleisher, *Echthros entos ton teichon,* 337–363; 365–387.

24. Papatheodorou, *Metres,* 99–102; Emmanouilidis, *Oi anthellinikoi diogmoi,* 57–71.

25. For the complex relationship between communism and nationalism in Greece in the 1940s, see Andrew Rossos, "Incompatible Allies: Greek Communism and Macedonian Nationalism in the Civil War in Greece, 1943–1949," *JMH* 69 (1997): 42–76; and John S. Koliopoulos, *Plundered Loyalties: World War II and Civil War in Greek West Macedonia* (New York, 1999).

across wider sectors of Bulgarian society. The new party cadres, meticulously examining the reliability of the population in the country, discerned a division among the Greeks in Bulgaria. Whereas in 1945 and 1948 many, especially those among the poor Greeks, supported the Communist Party and the Fatherland Front and overwhelmingly voted for them, there were also those from the "reactionary camp," mainly among the more prosperous Greeks, who persistently voted for the opposition. Once the Communist Party came to power and enacted new policies—such as currency reform and the nationalization of large real estate and industrial properties—that adversely affected the economic interests of "Greek magnates" (*bogatashi*), officials concluded that most of these Greeks had adopted "reactionary, pro-English leanings."[26] Affluent Greeks also showed support for the "Anglo-Americans" and the forces associated with the Right in the Greek civil war, which turned them into potentially subversive political opponents.[27] Rather than singling out these Greeks as members of a dangerous minority defined in national terms, party officials treated these individuals as an "ideological" and "class" enemy, similar to other wealthy Bulgarian citizens considered hostile to the agenda of the regime.[28]

At the same time some forty-five hundred Greek political émigrés arrived in Bulgaria from Greece through the end of the Greek civil war in 1949.[29] Because of their communist affiliations, the new Fatherland Front regime perceived these Greeks as "brothers in arms," fighting against the evils of capitalism and the "Anglo-American pseudo-democracy" in Greece. The émigrés received various forms of assistance from the government, including free health care and child care, housing and educational privileges, pensions for the disabled, preferential employment, and help in reuniting family members.[30] Because a significant number were children of communist activists imprisoned in Greece, officials built dormitories and devised special educational curricula to accommodate the new arrivals.[31] In this context, a degree of differentiation arose between the émigrés and the indigenous Greeks, because the government granted these privileges exclusively to the "internationalist," left-wing Greeks. In their disapproval of these policies, some local Greeks spread rumors regarding the raging Greek civil war, opposed the opening of a dormitory for Greek refugee children in Pomorie

26. TsPA, f. 1b, op. 15, a.e. 14, ll. 14–20. Memo of the Burgas Propaganda Unit, 1 July to 30 September 1945, 7.

27. TsPA, f. 146b, op. 5, a.e. 935, ll. 1–6. Memo to the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, 11 June 1948; TsPA, f. 1b, op. 25, a.e. 20, ll. 21–27. Report of the Burgas Mass Organization Coordinator for 1945.

28. IAIE, 1948, 14.1.1. Ministry of Public Order to IE, 15 May 1948.

29. Boĭka Vasileva, *Migratsionni protsesi v Bâlgariia sled Vtorata Svetovna voĭna* (Sofia, 1991), 192.

30. Vasileva, *Migratsionni protsesi*, 190–201; Boĭka Vasileva, "Politicheskata emigratsiia v Bâlgariia sled Vtorata Svetovna voĭna," *Izvestiia na Instituta po Istoriia na BKP* 64 (1989): 320–338.

31. Mando Dalianis and Mark Mazower, "Children in Turmoil during the Civil War: Today's Adults," in Mazower, *After the War Was Over*, 91–104.

(once Anhialo), and boycotted a campaign collecting funds for the Greek political emigrants.[32] This behavior reflected a political split that made any measure of national unity among the population impossible, as many local Greeks did not endorse the left-wing commitment of their newly arrived compatriots, refused to assist them financially, and kept apart from them in their communities.

By the mid-1940s communist officials were not concerned with the Greek population, and they regularly omitted this small group of several thousand individuals from their reports related to the minority question in Bulgaria. Instead, party cadres emphasized that all Bulgarian citizens shared equal rights and responsibilities regardless of nationality, contending that minorities in Bulgaria could have no grievances against a regime that had fulfilled the promise of equality of all nations.[33] This period marked the last flight of Greeks from Bulgaria, including mainly affluent individuals from the "reactionary camp," who were not only worried about losing their property as a result of the nationalization campaigns but also feared political reprisals because of their support for the Right in the Greek civil war. After 1945 Bulgarian censuses omitted the categories of Greek language or Greek nationality, even though Greek elites now in Greece insisted that "clandestine Greeks" (*kriptoellines*) existed in Bulgaria under communist rule.[34] The Greeks remaining in Bulgaria numbered too few and many supported the regime, so the functionaries of the Communist Party focused on the much more numerous and potentially more dangerous Muslim minorities.[35]

Negotiating the Peace, Choosing Allies

Following the end of World War II, Bulgarian Greek representatives made isolated attempts to act as a unified group in Greece, but these endeavors were limited to elites that either defended their own economic interests or supported the political agenda of the Greek governments. The activism of these individuals was most apparent during the peace treaty negotiations between Greece and Bulgaria from 1945 to 1947.[36] Although the elites depicted their activities as originating from the Bulgarian Greeks as a whole, their organizations never attracted a mass following from the majority of

32. TsPA, f. 146b, op. 5, a.e. 935, ll. 1–6. Memo to the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, 11 June 1948.

33. TsPA, f. 1b, op. 25, a.e. 68. The Mass Organization Coordinator, May 1945, provides detailed information concerning the Turkish, Armenian, and Jewish minorities as well as the "Macedonian émigrés" in Bulgaria but lacks any reference to the Greeks. During this time the most compact Greek populations were some three thousand Greeks on the Black Sea.

34. IAIE, 1946, 63.4. The Union of All Greeks from Eastern Rumelia, 18 August 1946.

35. For the Muslim minorities, see Neuburger, *The Orient Within*.

36. For the postwar relations between Bulgaria and Greece, see Iskra Baeva and Evgeniia Kalinova, *Bâlgarskite prehodi, 1939–2002* (Sofia, 2002); and Georgi Daskalov, *Bâlgariia i Gârtsia: Ot razriv kâm pomirenie, 1944–1964* (Sofia, 2004).

the population but reflected the mentality of political leaders in search of credibility.

In preparation for the peace treaty negotiations, in early 1945 the Greek government of Nikolaos Plastiras, basing its demand on historical, geopolitical, and economic arguments, requested a new "strategic border" that would give Greece "the shelter of a defensible frontier" by redrawing its northern border with Bulgaria. The goal was to leave all the dominant mountain ranges in Greek territory so that Greece would be assured the best line of defense. Greece insisted that Bulgaria had already taken advantage of the current border's vulnerability to attack Greece three times in thirty years, in 1913, 1916, and 1941. These demands for a border revision partly served to undermine Bulgarian claims over Western Thrace, but, as representatives of a co-belligerent country that had suffered three occupations, Greek leaders also believed that they had the unprecedented chance to secure new benefits for their country that had once again found itself in the camp of the victors.[37]

Grassroots campaigns supported official demands but often inflated them to grand proportions because of the rampant anti-Bulgarian spirit in the country after the war. Numerous demonstrations occurred throughout Greece in late 1944 and throughout 1945, requesting a new frontier with Bulgaria as far as the Balkan Mountains and disseminating maps that included large portions of the Bulgarian Black Sea coast in Greece. When the Greek regent Archbishop Damaskinos visited Salonica in February 1945, his speech was met with exclamations such as "Ahead to Sofia! We want the Greek occupation of Bulgaria!" and "We want borders beyond the Strimonas River [Struma in Bulgarian]!"[38] In this climate of national exhilaration, representatives of the Bulgarian Greeks emerged as important public figures guiding Greek indignation and national fervor. Some of these individuals were the same spokespersons of the Bulgarian Greeks from the late 1930s who had worked closely with the Greek governments during their financial negotiations with Bulgarian representatives. The Committee of the Unredeemed Northern Greeks in Salonica organized public lectures, published articles in newspapers, and composed petitions explaining the need for the border revision that the government demanded.[39] Professors from the

37. AMVnR, f. PMK, a.e. 126. "The Greek-Bulgarian Frontier and the Hellenic Claims"; GLA, APhD, 75.1.3, 13. "The Northern Boundary of Greece" and report of the Greek government concerning the Greek-Bulgarian frontier, July 1946; GLA, APhD, 75.2.19–39. Greek memoranda concerning the Bulgarian-Greek frontier and especially 33, "The Greek Role for the Security of the Eastern Mediterranean," 24 June 1946; IAIE, 1946, 43.1. *Ellinikes theseis epi tou zitimatos eirinis me Voulgaria;* and IAIE, 1946, 43.6. The Greek delegate at the Paris Peace Conference, 11 October 1946. The Greek government also demanded the acquisition of Northern Epirus from Albania and the Dodecanese islands from Italy.

38. TsDA, f. 1k, op. 1. a.e. 20. ll. 191–196. "Anti-Bulgarian Activities of the Greek Chauvinist Circles in Recent Times." See also IAIE, 1945, 22.1 and 7 for Greek petitions composed during this period.

39. Epitropi Alitroton Voriou Ellados, *I Geitones imon Voulgaroi* (Thessaloniki, 1945); Epitropi Alitroton Voriou Ellados, *To parapono tou Ellinismou. Ekklisis pros tas akadimias,*

University of Salonica requested the "return" of Eastern Rumelia to Greece, claiming that, otherwise, "it is impossible for the Greek people to live securely from both an economic and geopolitical viewpoint."[40] The Union of All Greeks from Eastern Rumelia produced ethnological and historical arguments to support the official view of a strategic frontier, maintaining that the lands that Greece requested had been Greek since antiquity. The activists recounted the turbulent history of the Greeks in Bulgaria during 1906 and the wartime period, depicted the "persecutions" and "suffering" but also the "untainted national consciousness" of their compatriots, and so justified the transfer of their ancestral land, Eastern Rumelia, now including few Greek inhabitants, to Greece.[41]

Greek leaders and officials disseminated petition forms that people in various communities "spontaneously" signed. According to such writings, the "natural" frontier line between Bulgaria and Greece had to follow the Balkan Mountains because otherwise the Greek borders remained wide open as "attack gates" for Bulgarian aggression. To neutralize the existence of a large Bulgarian population in these aspired territories, the defenders of the territorial change proposed a "transfer system," similar to the one implemented toward the Germans in Czechoslovakia and Poland, to remedy the current ethnic composition.[42] The general sentiment of the petitions was indignation with the "demands of bloodthirsty Bulgaria toward our most peaceful Thrace, which the violent heirs of Krum have already destroyed three times."[43] The only solution to past injustices was the "incorporation in the Greek state of Eastern Rumelia, where an abundant Greek population had long flourished until the [Bulgarian] aggressors exterminated it by fire and sword."[44]

In addition to being involved in these official political initiatives, the Bulgarian Greek elites also pursued matters of a private financial character. Another vocal organization emerged in 1947, when Greeks who had left Bulgaria during the deportations of 1939 and 1940, and also as a result of the nationalization campaigns after 1945, established in Athens the Organization of Greek Citizens Expelled from Bulgaria with the purpose

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ta panepistimia kai ta alla anotata epistimonika idrimata ton Inomenon Ethnon (Thessaloniki, 1946); Grand Committee of Unredeemed Hellenes of Northern Hellas, *Enlightening Pages Submitted to the Council of the United Nations Organization* (Thessaloniki, 1947). Dr. Georgios Tsiridis and the attorney Dimitris Vogazlis, activists from the 1920s and 1930s, were members of this organization.

40. IAIE, 1945, 22.1. Professors from the University of Salonica, 4 April 1945.

41. GLA, APhD, 75.2.30; and IAIE, 8.6. The Union of All Greeks from Eastern Rumelia (*Enosis ton apantachon ex Anatoliki Romilia Ellinon*), 10 April and 7 August 1946.

42. GLA, APhD, 75.2.28, 30, 31. Draft petitions of the Association of Northern Thrace and the Union of All Greeks from Eastern Rumelia; IAIE, 1946, 63.4. The Union of All Greeks from Eastern Rumelia, 18 August 1946; IAIE, 1945, 22.1 and 7; and IAIE, 1946, 8.1.2, 3, 5, and6. Petitions from 1945 and 1946.

43. IAIE, 8.1. Petition from Edessa, 26 June 1946.

44. IAIE, 8.2. Petitions from Serres and Sidirokastro, 15 and 24 August 1946.

of securing economic compensation for their properties.[45] Its members protested the expropriation of large urban properties and factories as well as the restrictions and internment of Greeks in Bulgaria, requesting preferential loans secured by their abandoned properties as well as access to social services and membership in professional organizations in Greece.[46] Once it became clear, however, that the strained diplomatic relations between Bulgaria and Greece prevented constructive negotiations, these economic tycoons disappeared from public life. In the end the Union of All Greeks from Eastern Rumelia remained the only association of the Greeks from Bulgaria. But though its leaders claimed exclusive rights to represent the Bulgarian Greeks, it is debatable whether they expressed the views of the population as a whole, because, following the end of the Greek civil war, the strict censorship of the right-wing regime certainly did not allow for open debates in Greek society.[47]

In the context of the contentious peace treaty negotiations, but also because of the growing confrontation in the Balkans between the Soviet Union, on the one hand, and Britain and the United States, on the other, diplomatic relations between Bulgaria and Greece hit their low point in the mid- to late 1940s. Even the official exchanges between the two governments defied all standards of diplomatic etiquette. In preparation for the Paris Peace Conference that began in July 1946, high officials in the Konstantinos Tsaldaris government, remembering Bulgaria's "treachery" in the past, warned that the country was always "prepared to strike a hidden blow at her allies," as demonstrated in its "systematic plan for the wholesale extermination of the Greek population" during World War II. They claimed: "A Bulgarian invasion will always be a menace to Greece" because "the Bulgarian people, owing to ingrained psychological causes, are ever prone to aggression and violence."[48]

Shortly after concluding the peace treaty negotiations in Paris in October 1946, the Tsaldaris administration officially accused the Kimon Georgiev government, together with its Albanian and Yugoslav colleagues, of instigating the civil war and supporting the armed communist insurgency in

45. IAIE, 1948, 116.1.4. The Organization of Greek Citizens Expelled from Bulgaria (*Somateion ton ek Voulgaria apelathenton Ellinon*), 28 March 1948.

46. Notably they also reprimanded the Greek government for its cancellation, in 1944, of the bonds the immigrants had received according to the 1919 Convention for Emigration. See IAIE, 1948, 117.4.1. The Association of Greek Citizens Expelled from Bulgaria, 17 April 1948; IAIE, 1948, 117.4.2. Memos of IE, 5 June and 6 July 1948; and The Association of Greek Citizens Expelled from Bulgaria, 20 May 1948. More critical petitions are found in IAIE, 1945, 22.7 and IAIE, 1946, 63.4. The Union of All Greeks from Eastern Rumelia, 12 September 1945 and 18 August 1946.

47. Two of its leaders published histories of the Bulgarian Greeks in 1945. See Megas, *Anatoliki Romilia;* Aristidis Papadatis, *Anatoliki Romilia* (Athens, 1945).

48. IAIE, 1946, 43.1. Draft of a Memorandum to the Paris Peace Conference. The speech was delivered by Pipinelis on 4 September 1946. See AMVnR, f. PMK, a.e. 402, l. 53–63.

its northern areas.[49] Representatives of the newly constituted Communist Party government of Georgi Dimitrov called such allegations "false and unrestrained Greek provocation" and "contrived nationalist propaganda" of "reactionary" politicians who, with their territorial demands and accusations, sought to distract from the "cruel internal civil war . . . in which thousands of truly heroic, patriotic, and democratic sons of our neighbor perish."[50] Bulgarian leaders contended that although Greece attempted to portray Bulgaria as a "source of disturbance in the Balkans," in fact it was the Greek government that incited the gruesome civil war within its territory and became a "center of serious concern for its neighbors." The Dimitrov administration blamed its Greek counterparts for their "lack of a sincere desire to work for the restoration of peace and security in the Balkans" and accused the Greek government of "anti-popular, hostile policies against its neighbors."[51] In the mid-1940s a spirit of distrust had descended on both sides of the Bulgarian-Greek border, and these strained relations prevented the restoration of diplomatic relations between the two countries until 1964.[52]

New Perspectives on the Past

This political tension and uncompromising rhetoric at the official level helped shape the emergence of new interpretations of the past at the popular level, reinforcing the perception of an irreconcilable and hostile relationship between Bulgaria and Greece. This trend was evident in Greece, where anti-Bulgarian attitudes permeated society in the aftermath of war and occupation. Popular accounts from the 1940s utilized rigid stereotypes, carefully selected their historical examples, and came up with bombastic titles such as *The Bulgarian Deceit: Historical Evidence, The Bulgarians: The History of a Horde,* and *The Bulgarians: The Bloodthirsty People, Our Worst Enemies,* to craft a negative image of the northern neighbor.[53] Even professional historians adopted a nationalist perspective that was informed by the wartime misgivings, postwar discords, and propaganda needs of the Greek state.[54] In 1945 Emmanouil Grigoriou completed his

49. Milcho Lalkov, "Edin diplomaticheski spor—Iugoslaviia i Gâtsiia na Parizhkata mirna konferentsia," *Minalo,* 3–4 (1997): 62

50. AMVnR, f. PMK, a.e. 104, ll. 2–6. "The Greek 'Accusations' against Bulgaria and International Public Opinion," 15 January 1947.

51. IAIE, 116.1.1. Embassy in Belgrade to IE, 10 July 1948, quoting a speech of Vasil Kolarov.

52. See Daskalov, *Bâlgariia i Gârtsia.*

53. Christos Trapezountios, *Voulgaroi kai Ellinismos. Istorikopolitiki meleti* (Alexandria, 1944); P. N. Nikoulakou, *Voulgaroi. Oi aimovoroteroi anthropoi. Oi aspondoteroi echthroi mas* (Alexandria, 1944); Alexandros Livadeos, *Voulgaroi kai voulgarismoi* (Athens, 1945); M. P., *I voulgariki kakopistia: Istorikes martiries* (Athens, 1945); Manolis Kanellis, *Oi Voulgaroi. Istoria mias ordis* (Athens, 1947).

54. Papachristodoulou published several studies spanning Bulgarian crimes against the Greeks, the dangers of pan-Slavism, and the national affiliations of the Pomaks of Thrace. See

work, *Ellines kai Voulgaroi* (Greeks and Bulgarians), which started with the following sentence: "From [the establishment of the Bulgarian state in] 1878 until current times, for approximately seventy years, the Bulgarians have continuously slaughtered the Greeks," and continued: "One can believe that the mission of this people, this divine curse brought from the Asian steppes to the Balkans, is . . . to hate and exterminate everything Greek."[55] These authors made normative a black-and-white style of describing the Bulgarian-Greek historical encounters, silencing all alternative voices from the previous period that had presented a more nuanced version of the past.

In the late 1940s and early 1950s Greek historians wrote most of the existing literature regarding the Bulgarian Greeks, setting an uncompromising tone in the historiography and drafting a master narrative of Greek suffering at the hands of the Bulgarians throughout the centuries. Authors linked the Greek experience in World War II to the previous historical periods, showing a line of continuity between the various Bulgarian "crimes" and "aggressions" against the Greeks in 1885, 1906, 1913, 1916, and 1941. According to these interpretations, in the twentieth century the successive Bulgarian governments had subjected Greece to a "triple occupation" (*tripli katochi*) while orchestrating the forced "uprooting" (*xerizomos*) of the Greeks from Bulgaria, who were innocent victims of Bulgarian extremism. These accounts created clear-cut narratives of national martyrdom, asserted the criminal character of the Bulgarian people, and erased any ambiguities from the history of the Bulgarian Greeks. The emergence of these interpretations in the late 1940s was consistent with the postwar hostility and suspicion that many Greeks felt against Bulgaria. However, these writings had important consequences because their main premises have dominated the scholarly literature and popular thinking in Greece regarding the Greeks in Bulgaria and Bulgarian-Greek relations as a whole, highlighting nationalist interpretations and inscribing the Bulgarian Greek experience in the generic history of Greek national martyrdom.[56]

Historical interpretations were more restrained in Bulgaria. Because of the Marxist-Leninist school of history dominant in the country after the Communist Party's consolidation of power in 1948, historians portrayed class struggles between socioeconomic groups as the main motor of history and treated conflicts based on ethnic, national, or religious principles as less

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Papachristodoulou, *I katastrophi tou Voreiothrakikou ellinismou;* Polidoros Papachristodoulou, *O panslavismos mas apeilei kai xethemelionei* (Athens, 1947); Polidoros Papachristodoulou, *Oi pomakoi kai o dikaios agonas ton n'apallagoun apo ton disvachto voulgariko zigo* (Athens, 1948).

55. Grigoriou, *Ellines kai Voulgaroi,* 1.

56. Works written in the 1940s and 1950s include Megas, *Anatoliki Romilia;* Papadatis, *Anatoliki Romilia;* Vaffeus, *Istoria tis Agathoupolis;* Diamandopoulos, *I Anchialos;* Emmanouilidis, *Oi anthellinikoi diogmoi;* Apostolidis, *I tis Philippoupoleos istoria;* Grigoriou, *Ellines kai Voulgaroi;* D. K. Vogazlis, *Philetikes kai ethnikes meionotites stin Ellada kai Voulgaria* (Athens, 1954).

important. In contrast to the situation in Greece, the years after World War II witnessed a somewhat moderate tone in the analysis of the past relations between Bulgarians and Greeks, which is explained both by the lack of a significant Greek population in Bulgaria after the war and the prevailing ideological doctrines of socialist internationalism and class solidarity under communist rule. Mainstream historical analyses portrayed the enemy within, not the external enemy, as the main adversary of the Bulgarian nation in its march of progress, and so historians depicted the Bulgarian magnate (*chorbadzhiia*), the Turkish tax-collector, and the Greek priest as the combined oppressors of the Bulgarian people.[57] Nevertheless, stereotypes from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries remained powerful tropes in Bulgarian historical thinking and the popular imagination. The theory of the "double yoke" that Bulgarians had suffered under Greek and Turkish domination; the "Byzantine," "cunning" character of the Greeks that suffocated the "awakening" of the Bulgarians; and the Greek "theft" of Macedonia together with the other "treacherous ally," Serbia, that had deprived Bulgaria of its core lands—these ideas continued to function as interpretive lenses in detailing the encounters between Bulgarians and Greeks both in historical works and textbook accounts.[58] Despite the dictate of ideological paradigms emphasizing class solidarity, national clichés worked efficiently as discursive strategies for creating national unity and charting the common experience of the Bulgarian people throughout the centuries.

The eventual political divide of the Balkans during the Cold War, with Bulgaria and Greece acting as protagonists in the two adversarial blocs, solidified these diverging historical interpretations of the neighboring nation as viewed in official accounts of history. However, new research has unearthed the multiple ways that local communities and ordinary people coped with the turbulence of the 1940s, revealing the complex dynamics in the relations between Bulgarians and Greeks as they tried to delineate the boundaries of their nations in the new realities of the Cold War.[59] The opinions of the Bulgarian Greeks of Bulgarian-Greek relations during the decade of the 1940s remained varied and nuanced. In his work

57. Nadia Danova, "Osmanskoto vreme v bâlgarskite tekstove prez 19 i 20 vek," *Sledva* 29 (2009): 29–42.

58. For Bulgarian stereotypes against its neighbors and the role of national ideology in history writing, see Danova, Dimova, and Kalitsin, *Predstavata za "Drugiia" na Balkanite;* and Nikolaï Aretov, *Natsionalna ideologiia i natsionalna literatura* (Sofia, 2006).

59. For a summary of the new historiographical trends in Greece, see Nikos Marantzidis and Giorgos Antoniou, "The Axis Occupation and Civil War: Changing Trends in Greek Historiography," *Journal of Peace Research* 41 (2004): 223–231. Some new research topics include the Greek political immigrants in Bulgaria and the refugees from the Aegean area of Greece after World War II, known as *egeĭtsi*, whose loyalties tended to swing between Bulgaria and Macedonia. See Georgi Daskalov, *Mezhdu revanshizma na Atina, makedonizma na Belgrad i nihilizma na Sofia. Egeĭskite bezhantsi prez 40-te do 80-te godini na XX vek* (Sofia, 2007); Georgi Daskalov, *Grâtskata politemigratsiia v Bâlgariia* (Sofia, 2008); Tchavdar Marinov, "Aegean Macedonians and the Bulgarian Identity Politics," *Center of Advanced Study Working Paper Series* 1 (2007): 1–14.

on the "national characteristics" of Bulgarians and Greeks, completed in 1950, Dimitris Vogazlis drew subtle distinctions between the opinions of "simple folk" (*aplos laos*) and the motivations of "those involved in politics" (*politikologountes*), admitted that nationalist leaders "had not managed to poison" how most Bulgarians felt about the Greeks, and regretted the "tragic events that affected not only [these two countries] but also the entire Balkan peninsula."[60] Even after the traumatic confrontations between Bulgaria and Greece in the 1940s, moderate opinions of the encounters between Bulgarians and Greeks continued to exist, and, in contrast to noisy nationalist slogans, people expressed views that contradicted the rigorous divisions between the two nations at the core of official propaganda.

Conclusion

This book reveals how, in the course of fifty years, the conflicting national aspirations of the Bulgarian and Greek governments affected the Greek residents of Bulgaria who juggled multiple identities during the last phase of the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire in the Balkans. In the traumatic transition from empire to nation-states, when Bulgaria and Greece sought to split up the same territories and claim the loyalties of the same populations, the small minority felt torn between the Bulgarian state, its native land, and the Greek nation, its ethno-cultural community. Aware of the unstable and fluctuating allegiances of the population, Bulgarian and Greek officials implemented a variety of policies that aimed at blending the idiosyncratic communities of the Bulgarian Greeks in a mainstream society defined in national terms. Trying to cope with official dictates, people on the ground articulated their own ideas of community that often contradicted the premises of national ideology. The Bulgarian Greeks were not just obliviously indifferent or manipulatively amphibian in their encounter with bureaucrats. Rather, there was a wide range of behaviors that showed the uneven spread of the national idea among the population; ardent nationalist brokers, sincere national supporters, nationally ambivalent individuals, and people willing to manipulate their loyalties coexisted and articulated conflicting visions of citizenship, nationality, and belonging that did not conform with the clear-cut message of national propaganda.

This book, first of all, details how political elites in Bulgaria and Greece handled their conflicting agendas, constantly redefining the terms of their engagement over time but implementing a relatively stable set of policies that were considered the staple of "modern states" understood as nationally homogeneous entities. During the first half of the twentieth century, there was a striking interrelatedness of nationalist campaigns in the entire Balkan Peninsula and pronounced commonalities in how the Bulgarian and Greek officials targeted their populations with policies aimed at national unity.

60. Vogazlis, "Voulgaroi kai Ellines," 111, 146.

Over these fifty years both countries wished to incorporate new lands, suffered the loss of aspired territories, articulated claims of affinity to minorities abroad, implemented measures of nationalization of minorities within, and accommodated refugees that tore at the fabric of their societies. In the early twentieth century, when national policies were still in the making, officials cautiously tested measures with the understanding that, while there were some legally accepted policies of rendering ethnic others harmless, there were also limits to their goals of forging the loyalties of their citizens. In contrast, during the wars all parties enforced policies of population management on a vast scale and without remorse, and forced migration, colonization, and programs privileging the dominant nation became intrinsic parts of state-building. In the newly acquired territories of the Balkan countries, the new minorities often became refugees and their flight affected the situation of newly minted minorities in other territories, causing an unprecedented reshuffling of the entire region according to an ethno-national logic. Minority policies also shared similarities after the wars ended because Bulgarian and Greek officials worked within the confines of geopolitical realities and considered reciprocal measures of minority protection as outlined in international treaties.

However, there were major differences between Bulgaria and Greece as the dynamics between the two countries, as well as the parameters of their national agendas, constantly shifted during this half-century. An inverse correlation was apparent in how national aspirations functioned between the two countries. Whereas Bulgarian nationalism transformed from strong and offensive to weak and defensive, Greek nationalism went from weak and defensive to strong and offensive. In the early twentieth century the Bulgarian governments, in pursuit of Great Bulgaria, rigorously implemented national policies targeting "Greek" individuals and communities as a "minority" according to the territorial principle of "one state, one nation." Greek politicians, struggling with the ambitious agenda of the Megali Idea, anxiously vacillated between cultural and political understandings of nationality and adjusted their policies in line with Bulgaria's national resurgence. However, the terms of engagement were reversed at the end of the wartime decade, when Greek officials articulated offensive homogenization measures in their new lands with large minority groups and their Bulgarian counterparts responded defensively to these efforts. The demise of San Stefano Bulgaria and the Greek Megali Idea caused immense trauma in both countries, but the new geopolitical situation after the Great War allowed the wartime winner, Greece, to assert its position at the expense of the wartime loser, Bulgaria. To enable future territorial revisions, Bulgarian politicians sought to implement minority protection treaties, pushed for safeguards of individual rights within minority communities, and showed some toleration for their own minorities. To prevent additional territorial losses, the Greek governments defied minority protection mechanisms that could allow Bulgaria to meddle in their internal affairs and propagated the primacy of state rights in the

nationalization of their new lands and citizens. With the large refugee populations arriving in Greece and needing immediate accommodation, state interests trumped individual rights even in the handling of individuals of the same ethnic group as the majority of the population. But national goals and the methods for accomplishing them remained a moving target, and in the 1940s the relationship between the two countries was reversed once again. Bulgarian officials aggressively claimed Greek territories and the allegiance of Greek residents, while Greek politicians helplessly watched as their state collapsed and the loyalties of their residents were again unsettled.

Beyond discussing official policies, this book also explains how people on the ground handled the evolving relations between the two countries and their conflicting national agendas. Because ideas of who belongs in a state and on what terms underwent significant changes over time, these fluctuations allowed individuals to adjust their relationship to the national bureaucracy according to their own concerns. In fact, official preoccupation with national loyalty often resulted from frustration with the lack thereof, exposing the uneasiness of the population with the all-encompassing policies of the administrations and their attempts to circumvent neat divisions based on national lines.

At the beginning of the twentieth century the Greek residents of Bulgaria believed in the "idea" of Greece but distrusted Greece as a "state," whereas they pursued their own personal strategies in their search of a "homeland." During the wartime decade the "old" and "new" Greeks under the Bulgarian administration acted differently: whereas the former often remained in their native Bulgaria and adapted to nationalization, the latter were less willing to tolerate the extreme measures targeting their communities and resettled to Greece in large numbers. Overall, circumstances permitting, individuals did not embrace a territorial understanding of nationhood that linked their ascribed nationality to residence in a nation-state; instead, they preferred an ethno-linguistic understanding of nationality enunciated in cultural terms. In the interwar years the Bulgarian Greeks once again experienced the irony of national categorizations. Although in Greece they became Greek citizens and belonged to the dominant national community, they suffered socioeconomic marginalization and felt like "strangers within." At the same time those remaining in Bulgaria had to relinquish their national activism and adopt an apolitical and cultural form of ethnic identity, but they had relatively stable lives compared to the population in Greece. Despite official insistence, nationality never became the most important marker of belonging for the population.

Diverse opinions and strategies existed among communities and individuals over how to handle the nationalist resurgence. For some Greeks, Greek national propaganda and Bulgarian assimilationist pressures served as a catalyst for adopting the Greek national cause, and they either resettled to Greece or engaged in national activism to "save" the nationality of their "compatriots." But other individuals judged their ethnicity against

the national culture in their country of residence, and so they opted for Bulgarian residency and Bulgarian nationality. Similarly Bulgarian responses to anti-Greek policies varied. While nationalists advanced ideas of national purity and wished to impose their extreme rhetoric and actions on the rest of society, moderate Bulgarians tended to criticize the governments if they disrespected the rights of their citizens, regardless of nationality. There was a difference between the "true" Bulgarians among the local population and the "professional" Bulgarians among the refugees, highlighting the role of radicalized national activists in popular mobilization. Generally, throughout the period, good relations existed between the Greeks and their Bulgarian neighbors, while refugees and opportunists caused disturbances within the minority communities. In regard to both Bulgarians and Greeks, the degree of national commitment, the multiplicity of collective choices, and the range of behaviors were remarkable. Whereas some showed steadfast determination to adhere to what they saw as their national destiny, others adopted a flexible understanding of nationality that allowed individuals to choose their allegiances. Still others used national identity as an "emergency identity," willing to play the system that sought to impose nationality as the main criterion of interaction between authorities and citizens.

The dynamic interrelationship between official policies and the demands of ordinary people is most clear in the contentious debates over minority definitions, rights, and policies. Over time both countries became obsessed with "minorities," for they affected their official causes of territorial expansion and consolidation. Bureaucrats did not simply try to identify but also actively sought to create minorities according to definitions that pursued practical ends. Officials used various criteria to classify individuals, relying on language and religion in the early periods but shifting to "race" and nationality as the twentieth century progressed, which allowed them to ascribe minority status to certain individuals according to supposedly "objective" factors. The Bulgarian state bureaucrats first started using the term "minority" to describe the Greek population in their territory, but also to subject it to policies of assimilation, in the early twentieth century. Greek officials adopted the term during the wars, when they pursued their own policies of homogenization through the colonization of their "new lands" with reliable "national elements" among the Bulgarian Greeks. In the interwar years both countries continuously elaborated on their classification schemes of minority individuals to pursue the priorities of each state.

However, this tendency to talk about people in terms of their nationality does not mean that the population saw itself exclusively as members of a "national" group; in contrast, individuals constantly promoted alternative ideas of community and citizenship. Typically the Greeks in Bulgaria only started using the term "minority" to describe themselves after the Great War, when the language of national legitimacy and self-determination provided them with the discursive arsenal to improve their communities' situations after the trauma of military conflict. How states and people handled the

marking and creating of ethnic "groups" differed; while officials urgently sought to impose clear criteria for classifying their residents, individuals inventively used the minority discourse as a language of special rights and entitlements. Notwithstanding these ambiguities, there were clear limits to human agency despite people's propensity to strategically use the national language as an "emergency identity." When the state and its agents marked someone as loyal or disloyal, as a nationally upright citizen or a national traitor, individual efforts at invisibility failed and state rights trumped individual autonomy.

Nevertheless, throughout the twentieth century, people continued to realize the limits of official national classifications, criticize the premises and outcomes of nationalist policies, and seek alternative definitions of belonging. During interviews in Greece with first-generation immigrants from Bulgaria in the late 1990s, despite many intervening decades, people expressed doubts about the success of national homogenization projects. A resident of Salonica, originally from Sozopol/Sozoupolis in Bulgaria, caustically remarked: "When emigration began in 1912, this is when they started to separate the populations, but, again, they did not come out clear [*den katharisane*] because Turks stayed in Thrace here [in Greece] with us, while Greeks stayed there [in Bulgaria,] so they never cleared it up."[61] The formulaic depiction of officials as "they" and the bitter criticism of the end results of homogenization policies reflected the belief of ordinary people that the state did not have complete control over how national dynamics developed. In 2001 an inhabitant of Biala (once Aspros) in Bulgaria, aware but dismissive of her Greekness, also objected to clear-cut ideas of national purity: "[In the 1920s] my mother's family decided, 'We will become Greeks,' and they stayed [in Greece], and they Grecisized [*i se pogârchiha*]. This is how it works. . . . While here [in Bulgaria] we became Bulgarians."[62] The conviction that people had a choice of nationality and were entitled to pursue their own personal strategies prevailed as individuals were trying to handle the disturbances of their times in their daily lives. For the Bulgarian Greeks, the twentieth century was marked by their struggle to remain unfixed, to retain their murky identities, and to be able to choose their loyalties. So they constantly contested the meaning of the nation, shaping and reshaping what it meant to be Greek and Bulgarian.

61. IAPE, Ath 122, interview with a man from Sozopol/Sozoupolis.
62. Interview with a woman from Biala, 6 November 2001.

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f. 331k—Bâlgarsko târgovsko predstavitelstvo v Bitolia (Bulgarian Trade Representative in Bitolia)

f. 413k—Bâlgaro-grâtsko druzhestvo v Bâlgariia (Bulgarian-Greek Association in Bulgaria)

f. 791k—Sveti Sinod na Bâlgarskata pravoslavna tsârkva (The Holy Synod of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church)

Dârzhaven arhiv-Plovdiv (DA-Plovdiv)

f. 29k—Gradsko obshtinsko upravlenie grad Plovdiv (Plovdiv Municipal Administration)

f. 75—Oblastno politseĭsko upravlenie grad Plovdiv (Plovdiv District Police Directorate)

Dârzhaven arhiv-Varna (DA-Varna)

f. 78k—Okrâzhno upravlenie grad Varna (Varna District Administration)

Dârzhaven arhiv-Burgas (DA-Burgas)
f. 212k—Gradsko obshtinsko upravlenie grad Pomorie (Pomorie Municipal Administration)
f. 151k—Gradsko obshtinsko upravlenie grad Nesebâr (Nesebâr Municipal Administration)
f. 152k—Gradsko obshtinsko upravlenie grad Sozopol (Sozopol Municipal Administration)
f. 82k—Okoliĭsko upravlenie grad Pomorie (Pomorie Police Administration)

Arhiv na Ministerstvoto na vâtreshnite raboti, Sofia (AMVR)
f. 2—Direktsiia na politsiiata (Directorate of the Police)

Arhiv na Ministerstvoto na vânshnite raboti, Sofia (AMVnR)
f. PMK—Parizhka mirna konferentsiia (Paris Peace Conference)

Tsentralen partien arhiv, Sofia (TsPA)
f. 146b—Archive of Georgi Dimitrov
f. 1b, op. 15—Otdel "Propaganda i agitatsiia" (Propaganda and Agitation Unit of the Bulgarian Communist Party)
f. 1b, op. 25—Otdel "Masov" (Mass Organization Unit of the Bulgarian Communist Party)

Greece

Istoriko Archeio Ipourgeiou Exoterikon, Athens (IAIE)
Correspondence of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Genika Archeia tou Kratous, Athens (GAK)
k111b—Archive of K. Mirtilos Apostolidis
k85d and k85e—Archive of the Bishop of Elevtheroupoleos Sophronios, File K. Mirtilos Apostolidis

Istoriko Archeio Mouseiou Benaki, Athens (IAMB)
256—Archive of Apostolos Doxiadis

Gennadius Library Archive, American School of Classical Studies, Athens (GLA)
Archive of Stephanos Dragoumis
Archive of Philippos Dragoumis

Istoriko Archeio Agrotikis Trapezas Ellados, Athens (IAATE)
Correspondence of the Mixed Commission for Greek-Bulgaria Emigration

Istoriko Archeio Makedonias, Salonica (IAM)
Geniki Dioikisi Makedonias (General Administration of Macedonia)

Istoriko Archeio Prosphigikou Ellinismou, Salonica (IAPE)
Sillogi prophorikon martirion "Proti genia prosphigon" (Oral History Collection "First-Generation Refugees")

Genika Archeia tou Kratous-Archeia Nomou Kavalas, Kavala (GAK-ANK)
Archeion Eidikou Dikastiriou Dosilogon (Archive of the Special Court for Collabolators)

PERIODICALS

Akropolis
Archeion Thrakikou Laographikou kai Glossikou Thisavrou
Archeion Thrakis
Chernomorski glas
Den
Kraĭ
Nezavisima Makedoniia
Nov vek
Makedoniia
Mir
Trakiia

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Index

Page numbers in *italics* indicate illustrative material.

Aegean Macedonia, 81, 96, 98, 100, 104n105, 114, 142, 251, 253
Agrarian National Union, Bulgarian, 169
Aheloĭ (formerly Tsimos), 151
Ahtopol/Agathoupolis, 100, 101–2, 104, 136
Ak Bunar (today General Inzovo), 43, 72
Alexander the Great, ix, 28
Alexandroupolis (formerly Dedeagach), 93, 95, 96, 97, 162
Altânov, Ivan, 227
Anchialos Makedonias, 164
Anhialo/Anchialos (Pomorie)
  anti-Greek movement (1906), destruction during, 36, 44–48, *45*, 49, 72, 202, 236
  assimilation efforts in
    Bulgarian residents' response to, 68, 69
    language restrictions, 193–94
    local administration, exclusion of Greek Bulgarians from, 66
    Patriarchist bishopric, Bulgarian abolition of, 64
    property rights of Greek emigrants, 67
    reversals of, 75
  Bulgarization in 1930s, 209–10
  Greek Bulgarian emigrants from
    1906, 49–50, 51, 201–3
    under Convention of 1919, 132, 138, 151, 162, 164
  Greek Bulgarians remaining in, after 1925, 171, 175, 177, 180, 183, 205, 206
  Greek census of Greek communities (1919), 124
  Greek patriotism stirred by destruction of, 55–56
  in historical narratives, 228, 232, 236, 239–41, 243
  late 19th century Greek community in, 25, 26, 27
  mixed marriages in, 177
  Ottoman Empire, Bulgarian refugees from, 173, *174*
  Patriarchist bishopric, 64, 110
  proposals to rename, 44, 206–7
  WWII and its aftermath, 255–56
anthropology of suffering, 159
anti-Greek movement (1906) and its consequences, 35–75
  Anhialo/Anchialos, destruction of, 36, 44–48, *45*, 49, 72, 202, 236
  assimilation of Greek Bulgarians
    government efforts at, 61–68
    Hellenization of Bulgarians as side effect of, 74
    response of Bulgarian residents to, 68–73
    reversals of, 75
  Bâlgarski rodoliubets, 41, 42, 44–47, 68, 69, 71
  Bulgarian refugees from Macedonia as instigators of, 36, 41
  communal property, rules for liquidation of, 223–24

anti-Greek movement (1906) and its consequences *(continued)*
emigrant/refugee Greek Bulgarians
citizenship issues, 60
disillusionment with life in Greece, 35–36, 53–55, 57–59
eventual Greek resentment of, 57, 59
flight, reception, and resettlement in Greece, 48–55, *52*
home and homeland, tension between, 55–61
returning to Bulgaria, 52, 53, 54–55, 60–61
government, media, and popular responses to violence of, 44, 46–48
Macedonia situation and, 36, 39–41, 44, 46–48, 50
minoritization and nationalization of Bulgarian Greeks by, 37–39
national consolidation in Bulgaria affected by, 73–74
origins and spread of, 41–44
religious tensions at heart of, 40–41
template for future events created by, 73–74
Varna, resistance to appointment of Patriarchate bishop of, 40–41, *42*
anti-Greek movement (1913), 90–92
Apostolidis, Mirtilos, 211, 217–19, 231, 233–35, 237, 244, 249
April Uprising (1876), 22
Archeion tou Thrakikou glossikou kai laographikou thisavrou, 231–32
army service. *See* military service
Asen (Bulgarian king), 43, 207
Asenovgrad. *See* Stanimaka/Stenimachos
assimilation efforts after anti-Greek movement. *See under* anti-Greek movement (1906) and its consequences
Austro-Hungarian compromise (1867), 22
authoritarian regimes and minority rights (1931-1941), 193–216
détente of mid-1930s, 245–48
financial obligations related to mass emigrations, sorting out, 196–99
Greek Bulgarian emigrants to Greece affected by, 195–96, 199–203
Greeks remaining in Bulgaria, 193–96
classified as undesirable/deported, 211–14
as invisible minority, 203–10
withdrawers of declarations to emigrate, 212–13
limited ability of individuals to counteract, 214–16
Axis Alliance, 250, 251
Balchik, 41, 250
Bâlgarski rodoliubets, 41, 42, 44–47, 68, 69, 71
Balkan League, 82–85
Balkans
border shifts (1912-1918) in. *See* border shifts and national homogenization efforts
Central and Western European national development compared, 8–14
comprehensive minority rights, call for, 196
ethnic diversity of, 4
modern upheavals in, ix–x, 5
nationalism in early 20th century, 3–4
reciprocal emigration proposal, 126
violent exceptionalism rhetoric, challenging, 4–6
Bania, 151, 181, 182
Batakliev, Ivan, 227
Berlin Treaty (1878), 23, 24, 25, 47, 63, 112
Biala/Aspros, 124, 138, 152, 179, 181, 184, 185
Black Sea area. *See also* specific towns
anti-Greek movement (1906) in, 41
assimilation efforts in, 66, 67, 69
Bulgarian refugees settled in, 173–74
Greek community in late 19th century, 20, 25, 28, 29
historical accounts of, 227–28, 232
WWII and its aftermath in, 251
border shifts and national homogenization efforts (1912-1918), 77–116
Balkan League alliance and lifting of restrictions on Greek Bulgarians, 82–85
continuing fluidity of identity despite, 79–80
discernment of national identity, continuing problems with, 115–16
Eastern Rumelia, proposals regarding, 110–12
education affected by, 78, 84, 86, 88–89, 92, 105, 108, 111, 112, 113
emigrants and refugees, 81–82
from and to four successfully Bulgarized cities, 100–104
from and to "new" lands, 92–100, *97*, *99*
from "old" lands, 88
postwar emigration proposals, 110, 113
repatriation of Aegean Macedonian children in Bulgaria, 114–15
First Balkan War (1912-1913), 78, 80, 82, 85, 87, 101, 102
grâkomani, 79, 95, 102, 103
internments, 86, 92, 96, 98–100
Macedonia, 77, 78, 80–82, 85–86, 89–93, 95, 96, 98–100

"new lands," Greek Bulgarians in, 79, 92–100, *97*, *99*
"old lands," Greek Bulgarians in, 79, 85–92
Patriarchate/Exarchate and, 83, 84–85, 88–89, 90–91, 103, 110–11
post-WWI future of Greek Bulgarians, debates regarding, 110–14
post-WWI Greek national activism, Greek Bulgarian response to, 77–78, 104–10
reciprocal implications in Greece of minority rights for Greek Bulgarians, 112–14
second anti-Greek movement (1913), 90–92
Second Balkan or Inter-Allied War (1913), 78, 80–82, 85–87, 92–93, 101–2, 250
successful Bulgarization of four cities, 100–104
Thrace, 78, 81–82, 93–100, *97*, *99*
"treacherous allies," Greek Bulgarians labeled as, 85–92
WWI, 81–82, 87, 91, 92, 98–100, 119
Boris III (king of Bulgaria), 185, 194, 196, 204, 209
Bosnia, Austrian occupation of, 36
Bourdieu, Pierre, 13
Brodilovo/Vrodivos, 101
Brubaker, Rogers, 8, 15
Bucharest, Treaty of (1913), 80, 81, 93
Bulgaria
anti-Greek movement (1906) in. *See* anti-Greek movement (1906) and its consequences
authoritarian regime of 1930s in. *See also* authoritarian regimes and minority rights
border shifts (1912-1918) affecting. *See* border shifts and national homogenization efforts
Communist Party in, ix, 3, 170, 254–56, 259–62
Convention of 1919 with Greece. *See* Convention for Voluntary Emigration of Minorities (1919), emigration under
Germany, alliance with, 199, 204, 250
Greeks of (1900-1949). *See* Greeks of Bulgaria
Ottoman Empire/Turkey
Bulgarian refugees from, 172–74, *174*
declaration of independence from (1908), 63
population exchange agreement with (1913), 125–26
post-WWI laws, 131–32
post-WWI territorial losses, 118–19
in WWII. *See* World War II and its aftermath
Bulgarian Agrarian National Union, 169
Bulgarian consciousness, Greeks with, 2, 30, 253–54
Bulgarian Exarchate. *See* Exarchate
Bulgarian-Greek and Greek-Bulgarian Associations, 196, 211, 246–47, 249
Bulgarian Greeks. *See* Greeks of Bulgaria, 1900-1949
Bulgarian language. *See* language issues
Bulgarian nationalism, development of, 17–34
Bulgarian language, emphasis on, 17–18, 21, 24
Eastern Rumelia, 23–24, 28
establishment of Bulgarian state, 23
ethno-cultural differentiation of Greeks and Bulgarians, 17–18
Greek communities in late 19th century Bulgaria, 26–31
limitations imposed on Greek population, 24
local communities, shift from religious to national identification of, 24–26
Macedonia, clash of Bulgarians and Greeks in, 31–34
minoritization and nationalization of Bulgarian Greeks by, 37–39
Ottoman Empire, transition to nation-states from, 18–24
religious tensions contributing to, 21, 22–23, 24, 32–34
"Revival Period" of "national awakening," late 19th century, 21–22
Bulgarians with Greek consciousness. *See grâkomani*
Bulgariovo, 162–63
Burgas/Pirgos
anti-Greek movement (1906) in, 41, 43, 44
assimilation efforts in
Bulgarian residents' response to, 69
Education Law of 1892, enforcement of, 66
local administration, exclusion of Greek Bulgarians from, 66
border shifts of 1912-1918 and, 85, 102
Greek Bulgarian emigrants form
1906, 50
under Convention of 1919, 118, 131, 137–38, 148, 150–52
Greek Bulgarians remaining in, after 1925, 172, 175, 182, 186
Greek census of Greek communities (1919), 123
in historical narratives, 228

Burgas/Pirgos *(continued)*
late 19th century Greek community in, 26, 27
Ottoman Empire, Bulgarian refugees from, 173

Carnegie Report, 103
Caucasus, Greek refugees from, 134–35
Central and Western European national development compared to Balkans, 8–14
Central Powers (WWI), 81, 87, 92, 99, 126
Chourmouzis, Athanasios, 211
Chrétien, General, 104, 105, 106, 107, 109
Chrisos, Alexandros (Aleksandâr Hrisov), 179–80, 188
citizenship
anti-Greek movement (1906), emigrant/refugee Greek Bulgarians during, 60
under authoritarian regimes of 1930s, 207–9, 210–11
Convention of 1919 and, 127, 139, 192
of Greek Bulgarians after mass migrations (1925-1931), 170–71, 190–92
Cold War, 250, 260, 262–63
Committee on New States and for the Protection of the Rights of Minorities, 126
Common Committee of Unredeemed Greeks, 134
communal properties, 250
after mass emigrations of 1919-1925, 172, 198, 201
anti-Greek movement (1906) and, 41, 47, 48, 65, 67, 73
border shifts of 1912-1918 and, 111
competing historical narratives regarding, 221–24
Convention of 1919 and, 122, 129, 134, 139
liquidation rules for, 223–24
Communist Party in Bulgaria, ix, 3, 170, 254–56, 259–62
community, definition of, 224
Congress of Vienna (1815), 20
Constantine (king of Greece), 53, 90, 106, 126
Convention for Voluntary and Reciprocal Emigration of Minorities (1919), emigration under, 117–56
citizenship issues, 127, 139, 192
disillusionment following, 134–35
elites, 123–24, 133–35
Geneva Protocol for the Protection of Minorities (Kalfov-Politis Protocol), 144–48, 150, 155
Greek idea of population exchange leading to, 121–25
Greek versus Bulgarian governments on, 128, 129, 140, 142, 154
from Mesemvria, 117–18
minority rights and, 119–21, 125, 127, 140–41, 143–48, 153–56
Mixed Commission on Greek-Bulgarian Emigration and, 118, 120, 125, 127–30, 136–43, 145–48, 150, 151, 153, 155
from "new" Bulgaria, 135–37
"new lands" of Greece, colonizing, 123, 130–33
"old" Bulgaria, Greek inhabitants of
deteriorating situation after 1923, decision to emigrate due to, 148–53
initial hesitancy to emigrate, 137–41
Ottoman/Greek war (1921-22), effects of refugee situation following, 141–48
post-WWI refugee problem, 119–21
precedents for, 125–26
procedures, rules, and regulations under, 127–30
property rights and, 127–30, 136–37, 139, 144, 147
terms of Convention, 118–19, 126–27
withdrawal of declaration to emigrate under, 179, 183, 212
Corfe, Lieutenant-Colonel A. C., 127, 143
Curzon, Lord, 11
Cyril and Methodius (saints), 43
Czechoslovakia
ethnic unmixing after WWII, 258
state versus individual rights in, 190, 194

Dalakov, Ianko, 186
Dalukovi family, 188–89
Damaskinos, Archbishop (Greek regent), 257
Dautli (today Kableshkovo), 151
Dedeagach (today Alexandroupolis), 93, 95, 96, 97, 162
Delmouzos, Greek ambassador, 148
Demir Hisar/Sidirokastro, 103
Diamandopoulos, Adamandios, 231
Didimoteichos, 162
Dimitrov, Georgi, government of, 260
Dionisiadis family, 182
Dobrich, 250
Dobrudzha, 78, 80, 94n70, 107, 119, 209, 250
double yoke theory, 18, 230, 262
Doxiadis, Apostolos, 87–88, 166–67, 231, 238, 247, 249
Dragulev, Petâr, 44

Drama (town), 81, 98, 132, 144, 162
Drianovets (formerly Kâlâldzhik), 72
Dzhaferliĭ (today Kichevo), 77–78

Eastern Rumelia, 23–24, 28, 110–12, 230, 231, 258, 259
Ecumenical Patriarchate. *See* Patriarchate
education
  anti-Greek movement (1906) and assimilation efforts following, 37, 47, 51, 62, 65–66, 70
  authoritarian regimes and minority rights (1931-1941), 194, 198, 201, 204, 205, 209
  border shifts and wars (1912-1918) affecting, 78, 84, 86, 88–89, 92, 105, 108, 111, 112, 113
  development of Bulgarian nationalism and, 21, 24, 25, 28, 29, 30
  Kalkov-Politis Protocol and, 145–47
  nation-states, role in formation of, 12, 16
Efrem/Ephraim, 151–52
elite historical texts. *See under* historical narratives, competing
elites, Greek Bulgarian
  Convention of 1919, emigration under, 123–24, 133–35
  expulsions of 1930s, 211
  social life and status, 1925-1931, 174–78, *176*
  WWII and its aftermath, 256–57, 258–59
Ellinismos, 47
emigrants and refugees
  anti-Greek movement and. *See under* anti-Greek movement (1906) and its consequences
  under authoritarian regimes of 1930s
    financial obligations related to mass emigrations, sorting out, 196–99
    Greek Bulgarian emigrants to Greece, 195–96, 199–203
    Greeks remaining in Bulgaria classified as undesirable/deported, 211–14
  border shifts and wars (1912-1918) resulting in. *See under* border shifts and national homogenization efforts
  complication of identity due to, 7, 9–10
  in historical narratives, 230–31, 234–36
  mass emigrations
    under Convention of 1919. *See* Convention for Voluntary Emigration of Minorities (1919), emigration under
    everyday life after (1925-1931). *See* everyday life after mass emigrations
    financial obligations, sorting out, 196–99
  Ottoman/Greek war (1921-22), Bulgarian refugee situation following, 141–48
  WWII and its aftermath, 251, 252, 255–56, 258–59
empire to nation-states, transition from, *xvii–xix*, 7, 8–9, 11–14, 18–24
ethnic cleansing, 5, 6, 78, 100
ethnic unmixing, 11, 12, 31–32, 78, 92–100, 118, 258
everyday life after mass emigrations (1925-1931), 157–92
  citizenship issues, 170–71, 190–92
  Greece, Bulgarian emigrants to, 159–69
    bureaucracy, engagement with, 166–68
    crisis in Greek society and, 160–61
    disillusionment of, 164–66, 168–69
    Greek emigrants from Ottoman Empire and, 161, 163
    property rights, 166–68
    self-perception of, 161–62, 165–66
    settlement patterns, 162–65
  Greeks remaining in Bulgaria, 159–60, 169–78
    citizenship, Greek versus Bulgarian, 170–71
    distribution of, 171
    lack of national activism among, 178
    mixed marriages, 177, 182–83, 184
    Ottoman Empire, Bulgarian refugees from, 172–75, *174*
    popular agitation against, 171–72
    property rights, 181–82
    social life and status of, 174–78, *176*
  Greeks withdrawing declarations for emigration, 178–90
    national belonging, appeals based on, 184–90
    reasons given for staying, 178–84
    rejected and escorted from Bulgaria, 184–85
  minority rights, 159–60, 170, 172, 190
  Mixed Commission on Greek-Bulgarian Emigration, role of, 166–68, 179–81, 183–85, 189
  property rights
    of Greek Bulgarian emigrants in Greece, 166–68
    of Greeks remaining in Bulgaria after 1925, 181–82
Evxeinoupolis, 51, 53, 54

Exarchate
assimilation efforts of Bulgarian government and, 63–65
border shifts (1912-1918) and, 83, 84–85, 88–89, 90–91, 103, 110–11
Bulgarian-speaking Christians recognizing authority of Patriarchate, characterization of, 32
communal properties, competing historical narratives regarding, 221–24
conversion to, 71–73, 75, 103
Ecumenical Patriarchate, split with, 22–23, 24, 63, 83
establishment of, 22–23
Kalkov-Politis Protocol and, 146
local communities, shift from religious to national identification of, 24–26
WWII and its aftermath, 250–51

Fatherland Front, 254–55
Ferdinand (Bulgarian ruler), 77
Feres, 95
Filov, Bogdan, government of, 251, 252
First Balkan War (1912-1913), 78, 80, 82, 85, 87, 101, 102
First World War, 81–82, 87, 91, 92, 98–100, 119, 126, 154
France, state versus individual rights in, 194
Fuchedzhi, Iani, 184

Gagauz, 27–28, 30, 75, 77–78, 124, 230
Gay, General, 107
Geneva Protocol for the Protection of Minorities (Kalfov-Politis Protocol), 144–48, 150, 155
George II (king of Greece), 199
Georgev, Dimo, 2, 70–71
Georgiev, Kimon, government of, 204n40, 207, 259–60
Gephira, 163, 164
Germany
Bulgarian alliance with, 199, 204, 250
state versus individual rights in, 194
Geshov, Ivan, government of, 60, 83, 84
Gianitsa, 162
Giozeken, 180
Giumiurdzhina (today Komotini), 93, 95, 96, 133
Goritsa (formerly Kuru Kioï), 185
Gounaris, Dimitrios, government of, 134, 141
grâkomani, 1–2
assimilation efforts, 69
border shifts (1912-1918) affecting, 79, 95, 102, 103
defined, xv, 1
in late 19th century, 30
Patriarchate allegiances of, 26, 32, 79, 95
traitors, identified by Bulgarians as, 30, 33–34
WWII and its aftermath, 253
Great War (World War I), 81–82, 87, 91, 92, 98–100, 119, 126, 154
Great War (WWI), 81–82
Greece
anti-Greek movement (1906)
assimilation efforts in Bulgaria following, government response to, 62–63, 67
emigrants and refugees in Greece following. *See under* anti-Greek movement (1906) and its consequences
patriotic spirit following, 55–56
violence, government and media response to, 46–48, 49, 50
authoritarian regime of 1930s in. *See* authoritarian regimes and minority rights
border shifts (1912-1918) and. *See* border shifts and national homogenization efforts
civil war of 1949, political refugees from, 255–56
expellees of 1930s in, 214
Greek diaspora, relationship to, 37–39, 49
Macedonia, Bulgarian perception of Greek "theft" of, 82
mass emigrations
Convention of 1919 with Bulgaria, under. *See* Convention for Voluntary Emigration of Minorities (1919), emigration under
everyday life after (1925-1931). *See* everyday life after mass emigrations
Megali Idea, 21, 36, 55, 74, 119, 161, 264
nationalism, development of, 20–21
Ottoman Empire/Turkey and
financial agreement of 1930, 198
Lausanne Convention for the Exchange of Populations between Turkey and Greece (1923), 141–42, 148, 160, 161
population exchange agreement of 1914, 125–26
population exchange of 1922-23, 9
war with (1921-22), 139–41, 161
post-WWI gains of, 119
in WWII. *See* World War II and its aftermath
Greek-Bulgarian and Bulgarian-Greek Associations, 196, 211, 246–47, 249
Greek consciousness, Bulgarians with. *See grâkomani*

Greek language. *See* language issues
Greek Orthodox Church, establishment of, 20, 88
Greek War of Independence (1821-1830), 20
Greeks of Bulgaria, 1900-1949, 1–16
anti-Greek movement (1906), 35–75. *See also* anti-Greek movement (1906) and its consequences
authoritarian regimes of 1930s and, 193–216. *See also* authoritarian regimes and minority rights
border shifts (192-1918) affecting, 77–116. *See also* border shifts and national homogenization efforts
as case study of nationhood and displacement, 15–16
community, survival of nonnational notions of, 3, 6–7
Convention of 1919 between Greece and Bulgaria, 117–56. *See also* Convention for Voluntary Emigration of Minorities (1919), emigration under
development of Bulgarian nationalism and, 17–34. *See also* Bulgarian nationalism, development of
difficulties of determining nationality, 1–3
as emigrants or refugees. *See* emigrants and refugees
empire to nation-states, transition from, *xvii–xix*, 7, 8–9, 11–14, 18–24
end of, 250, 254, 256
ethnic diversity of Balkan states, 4
everyday life after mass emigrations (1925-1931), 157–92. *See also* everyday life after mass emigrations
grâkomani. See grâkomani
historical narratives of, 217–48. *See also* historical narratives, competing
in late 19th century, 26–31
maps. *See* maps
modern Balkan upheavals and, ix–x, 5
nationalism and. *See* nationalism
normative national narratives, importance of escaping, 7–8, 10–11
religious issues. *See* Exarchate; Patriarchate; religion and religious affiliation
self-descriptive terminology used by, xv, 28
terminological, chronological, and transliterational issues, xv–xvi
violent exceptionalism rhetoric in Balkan history, challenging, 4–6
Western and Central European national development compared to Balkans, 8–14
WWII and its aftermath, 249–67. *See also* World War II and its aftermath
Gregorian calendar, xvi
Grigoriou, Emmanouil, 260–61

Han Krum, 43, 206
Harmankeuy, 163
Harmanli, 68, 151
Hellenes and Hellenization, as terms, xv–xvi
Herzfeld, Michael, 14
high modernism, 12
historical narratives, competing, 217–48
double yoke theory, 18, 230, 262
emigrants and refugees in, 230–31, 234–36
national rhetoric, use of, 219–20
by Bulgarian historians, 220, 225–26, 229–30
détente of mid-1930s regarding, 245–48
by Greek historians, 220, 233–36
personal recollections less focused on, 236–38, 245
politico-historical documents, defining "nation" in, 221, 224–25
primordial nation, concept of, 225–26
WWII affecting, 260–63
Ottoman Empire's Balkan conquest, historical interpretation of, 18
personal recollections, 220, 236–45
professional or elite texts, 220
Bulgarian popular and academic history, 220, 226–31
Greek popular and academic history, 220, 231–36
political documents using historical analysis, 221–26
popular use, lack of, 237
World War II and its aftermath affecting, 260–63
The Slavic-Bulgarian History of the Bulgarian People (Paisiĭ of Hilendar, 1762), 17–18, 21, 22
violent exceptionalism rhetoric in Balkan history, 4–6
Hodzha Kioĭ (today Popovich), 185
Hrisov, Aleksandâr (Alexandros Chrisos), 179–80, 188

Iambol, 2, 43, 70, 188
Ianakev, Manol, 181, 182
Ilinden Uprising (1903), 32, 39, 42, 43
immigration. *See* emigrants and refugees
Inter-Allied or Second Balkan War (1913), 78, 80–82, 85–87, 92–93, 101–2, 250

Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO), 32
internments of Greek Bulgarians during border shifts of 1912-1918, 86, 92, 96, 98–100
Islam. *See* Muslims
Istanbul, Treaty of (1913), 93, 101
Italy, state versus individual rights in, 194
Ivaĭlovgrad (formerly Ortakeuy), 93, 100, 102, 104, 132, 136, 182
Izvestiia na Trakiĭskiia Nauchen Institut, 226

Julian calendar, xvi

Kakana, Kostadin, 182–83
Kâlâldzhik (today Drianovets), 72
Kalfov-Politis Protocol (Geneva Protocol for the Protection of Minorities), 144–48, 150, 155
Karakachani, 27, 28, 30, 124
Karakasidou, Anastasia, 7
Karies (today Oreshnik), 124
Kavakli (now Topolovgrad)
  anti-Greek movement (1906) in, 44, 46
  anti-Greek movement (1913) in, 90
  communal property in, 222
  Convention of 1919, emigration under, 135, 138, 140, 143, 151–52
  Greek Bulgarian emigrants from (1925-31), 165
  Greek Bulgarian refugees from, 50
  Greek census of Greek communities (1919), 124
  Greek community in 19th century, 26, 27, 29–30
  in historical narratives, 235
  Karioti/Kariotes of, 27, 29–30, 165
  local administration, exclusion of Greek Bulgarians from, 66
Kavala, 81, 98, 113n151, 126, 253
Kavarna, 41, 250
Kazâlagach, 90
Kazazis, Neoklis, 47
Kemal, Mustafa, 141, 198–99n16, 204
Kichevo (formerly Dzhaferliĭ), 77–78
Kichevo internment camp, 99n89
Kilkis/Kukush, 81
Kioseivanov, Georgi, government of, 210–11, 212
Kolettis, Ioannis, 21
Komotini (formerly Giumiurdzhina), 93, 95, 96, 133
Konstantinidis, Margaritis, 231
Korakas, Argiris, 239–41, 243
Kosti, 101, 184, 238
Kouklaina. *See* Kuklen/Kouklaina
Koumarianos, Plato, 215–16
Koziak/Kozakos, 152
Kozludzha, 69
Kraĭova Agreement (1940), 250
Krumovo, 188
Kuklen/Kouklaina
  anti-Greek movement (1906) in, 42, 43
  anti-Greek movement (1913) in, 90
  Convention of 1919, emigration under, 149–50
  Greek Bulgarians remaining in, after 1925, 183
  Greek census of Greek communities (1919), 124
  Greek community in late 19th century, 27
Kukush/Kilkis, 81
Kuru Kioĭ (today Goritsa), 185

Labor Service Law, Bulgaria, 131–32, 191
Ladas, Stephen, 1, 2
land. *See* property rights
language issues
  assimilation efforts of Bulgarian government regarding Greek Bulgarians, 65–66
  under authoritative regimes of 1930s, 193–94, 204, 206, 209
  border shifts (1912-1918) and, 86, 91
  of Bulgarians in Greece, 146–47
  development of Bulgarian nationalism and, 17–18, 21, 24
  education and. *See* education
  Greeks remaining in Bulgaria after 1925, 177–78
  historical accounts of, 227–28, 233
  WWII and its aftermath, 251, 256
Lausanne Convention for the Exchange of Populations between Turkey and Greece (1923), 141–42, 148, 160, 161
Law Against the Contributors to the Bulgarian National Catastrophe, 131
League of Nations, 118–20, 127n39, 144, 145, 153, 155–56, 169
Liakopoulos, Ilias, 51, 52, 56
Liapchev, Andreĭ, government of, 169–70, 171, 196–97
literacy, ideological or national, 14
local administrations
  authoritativeness assumed by (1931-41), 193–94, 195
  exclusion of Greek Bulgarians from (1900-1911), 66–67
London Treaty (1913), 80
Lukov, Bulgarian Army Chief, 109

Macedonia
Aegean Macedonia, 81, 96, 98, 100, 104n105, 114, 142, 251, 253
anti-Greek movement (1906) and, 36, 39–41, 44, 46–48, 50, 68
in border shifts 1912-1918, 77, 78, 80–82, 85–86, 89–93, 95, 96, 98–100
Bulgarian Greeks settling in, 164
Bulgarian historical narratives regarding, 226–27
Bulgarian interwar territorial aspirations in, 205, 209
Bulgarian nationalism, development of, 31–34
Convention of 1919, emigrations following, 130–35, 142, 144, 148–49
radical organizations, 169–70
Vardar or Serbian Macedonia, 81n7, 98, 99n89
WWII and its aftermath in, 251–53
Macedonian Cultural Center, Bulgaria, 226
Makedonski pregled, 226
Makri, 95
Malâk Boialâk/Mikro Boialiki, 138, 186
malaria, 53–54, 164
Malinov, Alexander, government of, 63, 64
Malkki, Liisa, 219
maps
border changes in Bulgaria, Greece, Serbia, and Ottoman Empire, 1912-1923, *xviii*
Bulgaria and Greece, 1923-1947, *xix*
Bulgaria, Greece, and Ottoman Empire, 1878-1912, *xvii*
Marintsoglou, Kiriakos, 211
Maronia, 95
marriages, mixed, 177, 182–83, 184, 213
Masrafchi, Ivan, 183
mass emigrations
under Convention of 1919. *See* Convention for Voluntary and Reciprocal Emigration of Minorities (1919), emigration under
everyday life after (1925-1931). *See* everyday life after mass emigrations
financial obligations, sorting out, 196–99
Matas, Eleni, 181
Mavrommatis, Drakos, 231, 236, 242–43
Mazarakis-Ainian, Konstantinos
after WWII, 249
emigration of Greek Bulgarians, dissemination of idea of, 121–26, 133, 135
Greek post-WWI national activism in Bulgaria and, 77–78, 104–10
minority rights of Greek Bulgarians, reciprocal implications of, 112–13
repatriation of Aegean Macedonian children in Bulgaria, 114
McCartney, C. A., 2
Megali Idea, 21, 36, 55, 74, 119, 161, 264
Melnik/Meleniko, 81, 93, 100, 102–3, 104, 136–37, 222
Mesemvria
anti-Greek movement (1906) in, 44, 46
assimilation efforts in
Bulgarian residents' response to, 69
Exarchate, conversion to, 72–73
local administration, exclusion of Greek Bulgarians from, 66
Patriarchist bishopric, Bulgarian abolition of, 64
communal property in, 222
Greek Bulgarian emigrants from 1925-31, 162–63, 164
under Convention of 1919, 117–18, 151, *152*
Greek Bulgarians remaining in, after 1925, 171, 175, 179, 180, 181, 182, 187
Greek census of Greek communities (1919), 124
in historical narratives, 232, 242
late 19th century Greek community in, 25, 26, 27
Ottoman Empire, Bulgarian refugees from, 173
Patriarchist bishopric, 64, 110
proposal to rename, 206–7
Metaxas, Ioannis, government of, 194, 196, 199, 251
Michalakopoulos, Andreas, government of, 146
migration patterns. *See* emigrants and refugees
Mikro Boialiki/Malâk Boialâk, 138, 186
military service
Bulgarian army, Greek Bulgarians serving in (1912-1918), 86–88, 91
changing citizenship to avoid, 191
Greek army, Greek Bulgarian refugees enlisting in (1906), 59–60
Ottoman Empire, Greek war with (1921-22), 139, 140
millet system, Ottoman Empire, 18–19
minority rights
anti-Greek movement (1906), efforts to assimilate Greek Bulgarians following. *See under* anti-Greek movement (1906) and its consequences

minority rights *(continued)*
authoritarian regimes of 1930s and. *See* authoritarian regimes and minority rights
Balkan states, call for comprehensive rights in, 196
border shifts of 1912-1918
post-WWI Greek national activism, Greek Bulgarian response to, 77–78, 104–10
reciprocal implications in Greece of minority rights for Greek Bulgarians, 112–14
community, definition of, 224
Convention of 1919 and, 119–21, 125, 127, 140–41, 143–48, 153–56
development of Bulgarian nationalism
limitations imposed on Greek population following, 24
minoritization and nationalization of Bulgarian Greeks by, 37–39
education. *See* education
everyday life after mass emigrations (1925-1931) and, 159–60, 170, 172, 190
language. *See* language issues
property. *See* communal property; property rights
Mitrini, 163
Mixed Commission on Greek-Bulgarian Emigration
completion of work of (1931), 195, 200, 221
Convention of 1919 and mass emigrations, 118, 120, 125, 127–30, 136–43, 145–48, 150, 151, 153, 155
creation of, 125, 127
deportations of 1930s based on records of, 212
financial obligations, determining, 196–98
historical narratives, use of, 221–22, 224
responsibilities following mass emigration (1925-1931), 166–68, 179–81, 183–85, 189
mixed marriages, 177, 182–83, 184, 213
Modernist Party, 47
Mohammed II the Conqueror (Ottoman emperor), 61
Mollov-Kaphandaris Agreement, 197
Montenegro, in First and Second Balkan Wars (1912-1913), 80–81, 82
Murphy, General and American Consul, 107
Muslims
border shifts (1912-1918) affecting, 78, 81n8, 92
in "new lands" acquired by Greece, 130
Ottoman/Greek war (1921-22), refugee circumstances following, 141–42
Pomaks (Bulgarian Muslims), 78n4, 92, 93n59, 170, 204, 260n54
Turkish Bulgarians, 61, 92, 94, 125–26, 170, 204
mythico-histories, concept of, 219

names, multiple, xv
nation-states, transition from empire to, *xvii–xix*, 7, 8–9, 11–14, 18–24
National Cultural Union, Bulgaria, 90
nationalism, 263–67
after Congress of Vienna (1815), 20
anti-Greek movement (1906), national consolidation in Bulgaria affected by, 73–74
authoritative regimes of 1930s promoting. *See* authoritarian regimes and minority rights
border shifts (1912-1918) and. *See* border shifts and national homogenization efforts
in competing historical narratives. *See under* historical narratives, competing
détente of mid-1930s, 245–48
development in Bulgaria. *See* Bulgarian nationalism, development of
development in Greece, 20–21
in early 20th century, 3–4, 14–15
Greeks withdrawing declarations for emigration, 184–90
primordial nation, concept of, 225–26
weak or cautious nationalism in Bulgaria during interwar years, 160, 170
WWII and its aftermath, 251–54, 260–63
Naval Union, Bulgaria, 173
Nea Anchialos, 51, 53, 54, 133, 164, 249
Nea Kariai, 51, 53
Nea Mesemvria, 163, 164
Nea Philippoupolis, 51, 53
Neĭkov, Petâr, 246
Neo Meleniko, 103
Neo Ortakeuy, 136
Neophitos, Patriarchate bishop of Varna, 40–41, *42*
Neuilly, Treaty of (1919), 118–19, 120, 127, 131, 134, 147, 160, 197, 205
Nevrokop/Nevrokopi, 93, 137
Nikiphoros I (Byzantine emperor), 43
Nikolov, Todor, 1

Office of Refugee Relief (ORR), Greece, 50–54
Oreschets, 212–13
Oreshnik (formerly Karies), 124
Orestiada, 162
Organization for Asia Minor Studies, Greece, 231
Organization for Macedonian Studies, Greece, 231
Organization for Pontian Studies, Greece, 231
Organization for Thracian Studies, Greece, 231
Organization of Greek Citizens Expelled from Bulgaria, 258–59
ORR (Office of Refugee Relief), Greece, 50–54
Ortakeuy (today Ivaĭlovgrad), 93, 100, 102, 104, 132, 136, 182
Ottoman Empire/Turkey
  Balkan conquest, historical interpretation of, 18
  Balkan League allied against, 82–85
  border shifts (1912-1918) affecting, 78
  Bulgaria and. *See under* Bulgaria
  Christianity within, 18–19
  Greece and. *See under* Greece
  Greek Bulgarian refugees in, 49
  Greek diaspora, allegiances of, 37–38
  nation-states, transition from empire to, *xvii–xix*, 7, 8–9, 11–14, 18–24
  population exchange agreements, 125–26
  San Remo Conference and Sèvres Treaty (1920), 119
  Tanzimat period of reorganization and reform, 20, 21
  Turkish Bulgarians, 61, 92, 94, 125–26, 170, 204
  Young Turks Revolution, 36
Ottoman Macedonia. *See* Macedonia
Ottoman-Russian War (1877-78), 23

Paisiĭ of Hilendar, 17–18, 21, 22
Palapeshkov, Stavri and Zafir, 183
Pan-Thracian Union, 111–12
Pangalos, Theodoros, 156
Papachristodoulou, Polidoros, 231, 249
Papadopoulos, Emmamouil, 231
Paris Peace Conference
  after WWI, 81, 110, 111, 114, 116, 126, 134
  after WWII, 259
Paskalev, Kostadin, 184
past, narratives of. *See* historical narratives, competing
Patriarchate
  assimilation efforts of Bulgarian government regarding Greek Bulgarians, 63–65
  border shifts (1912-1918) and, 83, 84–85, 88–89, 90–91, 103, 110–11
  Bulgarian Exarchate, schism with, 22–23, 24, 63, 83
  grâkomani, allegiances of, 26, 32, 79, 95
  Greek Orthodox Church, establishment of, 20
  in historical narratives, 222–23, 225, 229, 230, 232–33
  Kalkov-Politis Protocol and, 145–46
  local communities, shift from religious to national identification of, 24–26
  under Ottoman Empire, 18–19
  property rights in Bulgaria, 65, 172, 221–24
  Varna, resistance to appointment of bishop of, 40–41, *42*
Pazardzhik, 42, 72
People's Liberal Party, 46
Peshtera/Peristera, 42
Petrich/Petritsi, 93, 137, 156
Petrov, Racho, government of, 39, 40, 44–48, 50, 62–63, 65, 69–70
Philip II of Macedon, 28, 229
Philippoupolis. *See* Plovdiv/Philippoupolis
Phillipoi, 132
Photios, Patriarchist representative, 90–91, 218n8
Pilich, Nikola, 182
Pirgos. *See* Burgas/Pirgos
Plastiras, Nikolaos, government of, 257
Plovdiv/Philippoupolis
  anti-Greek movement (1906) in, 41–44, 46, 49, 71, 72
  Apostolidis, Mirtilos, and, 217–19
  Greek Bulgarian emigrants from 1906, 50
    under Convention of 1919, 118, 131, 148, 149, 152
  Greek Bulgarians remaining in, after 1925, 172, 175, 206, 208
  Greek census of Greek communities (1919), 123–24
  Greek education in, 66, 84
  in historical narratives, 229, 232, 233
  late 19th century Greek community in, 25–29
  local administration, exclusion of Greek Bulgarians from, 66
  Patriarchist bishopric, 64, 110
  Patriarchist property rights in, 65

Plovdiv/Philippoupolis *(continued)*
post-WWI Greek activism in, 107, 108, 110
WWII and its aftermath in, 251
Poland, ethnic unmixing after WWII, 258
Polybius, 111
Pomaks (Bulgarian Muslims), 78n4, 92, 93n59, 170, 204, 260n54
Pomorie. *See* Anhialo/Anchialos
Popovich (formerly Hodzha Kioĭ), 185
population exchange. *See* Convention for Voluntary Emigration of Minorities (1919), emigration under
population politics, 11
Practical Fishery School, Sozopol/Sozoupolis, 173
primordial nation, concept of, 225–26
property rights. *See also* communal properties
anti-Greek movement (1906) and, 66–67
during border shifts of 1912-1918, 66–67, 91, 96
Convention of 1919 and, 127–30, 136–37, 139, 144, 147
financial obligations related to mass emigrations, sorting out, 196–99
of Greek Bulgarian emigrants in Greece, 166–68
of Greeks remaining in Bulgaria after 1925, 181–82
of Patriarchate in Bulgaria, 65, 172
post-WWI land reforms in Bulgaria, 131

Radoslavov, Vasil, government of, 77, 89–91, 93, 94, 96, 98, 102
Razboĭnikov, Anastas, 227
Red Cross, 100
Refugee Settlement Committee (RSC), Greece, 166–67
refugees. *See* emigrants and refugees
religion and religious affiliation. *See also* Exarchate; Patriarchate
anti-Greek movement (1906) and, 40–41
assimilation efforts of Bulgarian government regarding Greek Bulgarians, 63–65
Bulgarian nationalism, development of, 21, 22–23, 24, 32–34
Greek Orthodox Church, establishment of, 20, 88
local communities, shift from religious to national identification of, 24–26
Macedonia, clash of Bulgarians and Greeks in, 31–34
national consciousness and, 1, 4
Ottoman Empire, Christianity within, 18–19
renaming proposals for Bulgarian towns
1906, 43–44
1930s, 206–7
Reynier, James de, 127n39
Robev, Vladimir, 127n39, 143, 147
Romania
border shifts of 1912-1918 and, 78, 80, 92, 94, 101
Dobrudzha, 78, 80, 94n70, 107, 119, 209, 250
Greek Bulgarian refugees in, 49
Neuilly, Treaty of (1919), 119
In WWII, 250
Roover, Marcel de, 127n39
RSC (Refugee Settlement Committee), Greece, 166–67
Russe (Danube port), 43

Saint Vrach Monastery, 222
Salonica Armistice (1918), 81, 104
San Remo Conference (1920), 119
San Stefano Treaty (1878), 23, 264
Sandanski, Iane, 102
Savov, General, 94
Scott, James, 12
second anti-Greek movement (1913), 90–92
Second Balkan or Inter-Allied War (1913), 78, 80–82, 85–87, 92–93, 101–2, 250
Second World War. *See* World War II and its aftermath
Serbia
border shifts 1912-1918, effects of, 80–81, 82, 85, 92, 93, 100, 103
map of border changes, 1912-1923, *xviii*
Neuilly, Treaty of (1919), 119
reciprocal emigration proposal, 126
Serbian or Vardar Macedonia, 81n7, 98, 99n89
Sèvres Treaty (1920), 119, 120, 127, 128
Shishkov, Stoiu, 227
Siar/Serres, 81, 98, 103, 162
Sidirokastro/Demir Hisar, 103
Simeon, Bulgarian bishop of Varna, 90
Skecha (usually called Xanthi), 93, 95, *97*, *99*, 133, 162
Skordaki, Manol, 181
The Slavic-Bulgarian History of the Bulgarian People (Paisiĭ of Hilendar, 1762), 17–18, 21, 22
Sofia
anti-Greek movement (1906) in, 42–43
anti-Greek movement (1913) in, 90

Greek Bulgarians remaining in, after 1925, 181
Greek chapel in, 106, 152
Soflu (today Souphli), 95, 97
Sophoulis, Themistoklis, government of, 144, 146
Souphli, 162
Sozopol/Sozoupolis
Convention of 1919, emigration under, 151
Greek Bulgarian emigrants from (1925-31), 162, 163, 164
Greek Bulgarians remaining in, after 1925, 171, 175, *176*
Greek census of Greek communities (1919), 124
Greek community in late 19th century, 25, 26, 27
in historical narratives, 228, 232
Ottoman Empire, Bulgarian refugees from, 173
Patriarchist bishopric, Bulgarian abolition of, 64
post-WWI Greek activism in, 108
Stamboliĭski, Alexander, government of, 126–27, 131, 169, 191
Stanimaka/Stenimachos (Asenovgrad)
anti-Greek movement (1906) in, 42, 43
anti-Greek movement (1913) in, 90
communal property in, 222
Convention of 1919, emigration under, 150
Greek Bulgarian emigrants from
1906, 50
1925-31, 164
Greek Bulgarians remaining in, after 1925, 171, 184, 208
Greek census of Greek communities (1919), 124
Greek community in late 19th century, 26
in historical narratives, 232, 233, 237, 238–39, 241–42
post-WWI Greek activism in, 107–8, 111
proposals to rename, 43, 207
Stefanov, Filalit, 182
Stefanov, Skuli, 181, 186–87
Stenimachos Brotherhood, 133
Strumitsa/Stroumnitsa, 81, 93, 100, 103, 119
suffering, anthropology of, 159
Suny, Ronald Grigor, 15

Tanzimat period, 20, 21
Tarlis (today Vathitopos), 144
Tatar Pazardzhik, 42, 72
Teodorov, Teodor, government of, 105–6, 113, 121
Teofilov, Andon (Andonaki Theophilou), 180, 187–88
Theotokis, Georgios, government of, 47–51, 53, 62
Thessaly, 51–55, 162
Third Balkan War, WWI regarded as, 81
Thrace
border shifts (1912-1918) affecting, 78, 81–82, 93–100, *97*, *99*
Bulgarian Greeks settling in, 162
in Bulgarian historical narratives, 226–27
Bulgarian interwar territorial aspirations in, 205, 209
Convention of 1919, emigrations following, 123, 130–35, 142–44, 148–49
in Greek historical narratives, 231–32
Neuilly, Treaty of (1919), 119
Ottoman/Greek war (1921-22), refugee circumstances following, 142–44
WWII and its aftermath, 249, 251–53, 257, 258
Thracian Club, 133–34
Thracian Scientific Institute, Bulgaria, 226
Thrakika, 231, 249
Thucydides, 111
Todomanov, Shterio, 181
Todorov, Gramen, 182
Todorova, Maria, 160n6
Topolovgrad. *See* Kavakli
Topsin, 163
transliteration of Bulgarian and Greek terms, xvi
Tripartite Pact, 251
Tsaldaris, Konstantinos, government of, 259
Tsankov, Alexander, government of, 144, 145, 147, 171
Tsarevo (formerly Vasiliko), 93, 101
Tsimos (today Aheloï), 151
Tsiridis, Georgios, 108
Tsorbatzis, Georgios, 127n39, 143–44, 168
Turkey. *See* Ottoman Empire/Turkey
Turkish Bulgarians, 61, 92, 94, 125–26, 170, 204

Union of All Greeks from Eastern Rumelia, 259
Union of Bulgarian Youth, 205
Urum Kioï, 69

Vardar or Serbian Macedonia, 81n7, 98, 99n89

Varna
anti-Greek movement (1906) in, 43
anti-Greek movement (1913) in, 90
Education Law of 1892, enforcement of, 66
Greek Bulgarian emigrants from 1906, 50
under Convention of 1919, 118, 131, 138, 152
Greek Bulgarians remaining in, after 1925, 171, 172, 175, 182, 209
Greek census of Greek communities (1919), 123
in historical narratives, 228, 230
late 19th century Greek community in, 25, 26, 27
local administration, exclusion of Greek Bulgarians from, 66
Ottoman Empire, Bulgarian refugees from, 173
Patriarchist bishopric
government abolition of, 64
resistance to appointment of new bishop (1906), 40–41, *42*
unification of Eastern Rumelia with Greece proposed by, 110
post-WWI Greek activism in, 106, 107, 110, 111
Vasilev, mayor of Varna, 90
Vasiliada (formerly Zagorichane/Zagoritsani), 40
Vasiliko (today Tsarevo), 93, 101
Vathitopos (formerly Tarlis), 144
Venedikov, Lieutenant Colonel, 108–9
Venizelos, Elevtherios, government of
border shifts of 1912-1918 and, 83, 89, 104, 110–13
Convention of 1919, emigration under, 121, 122, 125, 130, 133–35, 168
defeat in 1920 elections, 134, 135
second administration of, life under, 197, 198–99n16, 199, 201, 202
Verani family, 186
violent exceptionalism rhetoric in Balkan history, 4–6
Voden/Vodena
anti-Greek movement (1906) in, 42
anti-Greek movement (1913) in, 90
Convention of 1919, emigration under, 149–50
everyday life after mass emigrations (1925-31) in, 157–58
Greek census of Greek communities (1919), 124
Greek community in late 19th century, 27
Vogazlis, Dimitris, 157–58, 168, 231, 246, 263
Volos, 133, 162

Weitz, Eric, 11
Western and Central European national development compared to Balkans, 8–14
Western Thrace. *See* Thrace
Wilson, Woodrow, 110
World War I, 81–82, 87, 91, 92, 98–100, 119, 126, 154
World War II and its aftermath, 249–63
Bulgarian occupation of "liberated" territories, 250–54
Cold War, 250, 260, 262–63
Communist Party in Bulgaria, 254–56, 259–62
emigrants and refugees, 251, 252, 255–56, 258–59
Greek civil war of 1949, 255–56
historical narratives affected by, 260–63
nationalism and, 251–54, 260–63
peace treaty negotiations between Greece and Bulgaria (1945-1947), 256–60

Xanthi (sometimes called Skecha), 93, 95, *97*, *99*, 133, 162

Young Turks Revolution, 36
Yurchak, Alexei, 14

Zagorichane/Zagoritsani (today Vasiliada), 40
Zaimis, Alexandros, government of, 168, 196–97